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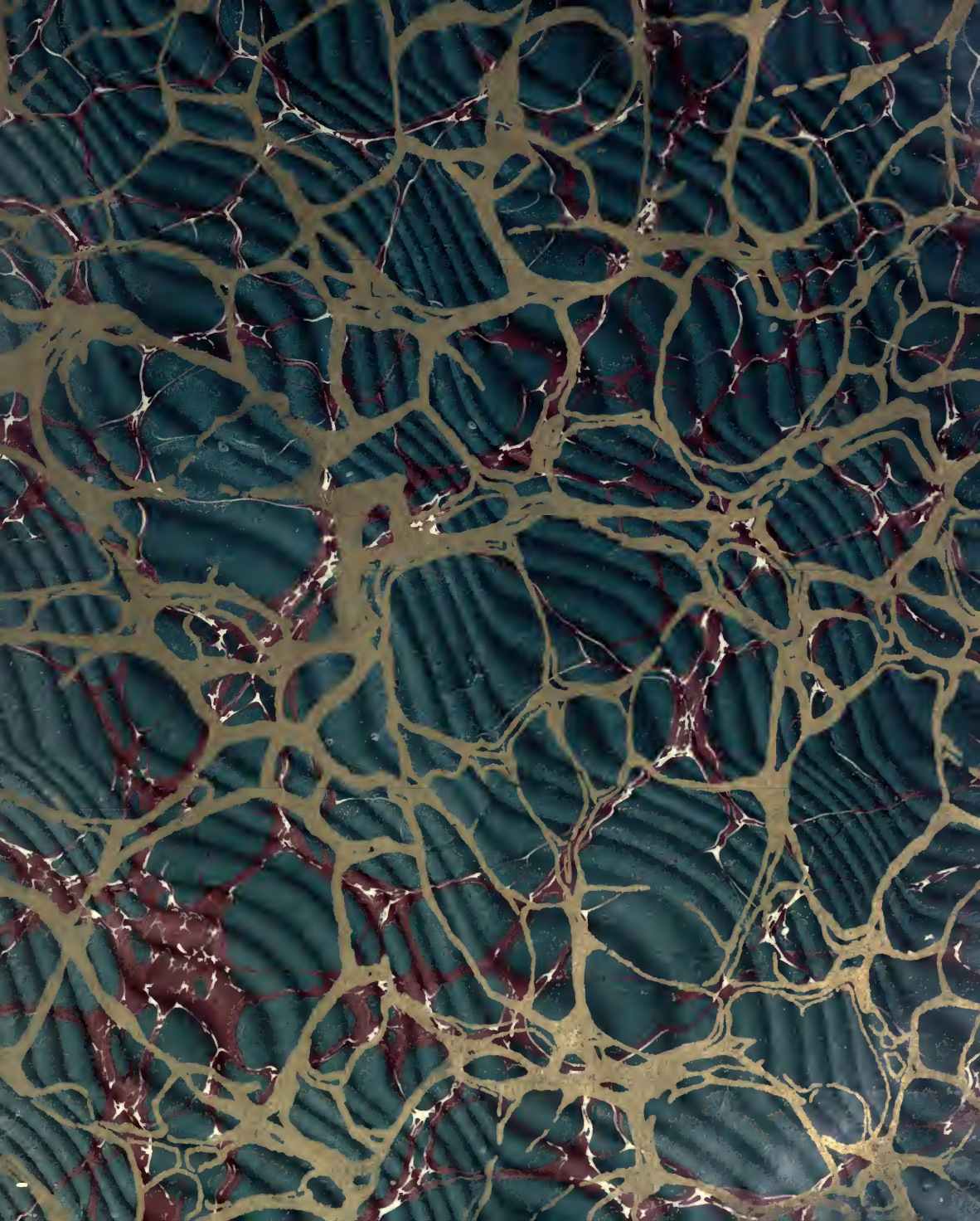

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All communications for the Journal are to be addressed to Robert MacAdam, Esq., 18, College-Square East, Belfast.

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THE DALRIADA BROOCH.

In the present number of the *Journal* we have the pleasure of laying before our readers accurate drawings of a beautiful antique *fibula* or brooch, lately discovered in the neighbourhood of Coleraine, and now in the possession of Mr. James Gilmour, of that town. It was found on the 3d of Nov., 1855, by a young man, while engaged in digging potatoes, not far from the river Bann, on the eastern or County Antrim side of the river, about three miles above the town of Coleraine, and not far (as the owner states) from an old ford, by which the river Bann was crossed at that locality.*

We have taken the liberty of assigning to this beautiful specimen of ancient Irish art the name of the DALRIADA BROOCH. Other antique *fibulæ*, to which particular interest is attached, though composed of materials much inferior in value to that of which this brooch is made, have obtained distinctive appellations. The "Runic†" or "Hunterston Brooch," figured by Dr. Wilson as a frontispiece to his *Archæology and Pre-historic Annals of Scotland*, is of bronze; so likewise is the "Tara Brooch," in the possession of Messrs. Waterhouse, of Dublin. These and various others have been considered of sufficient interest to be distinguished by proper names. The *fibula* now discovered, besides its artistic excellence, possesses the additional peculiarity of consisting entirely of *pure gold*: being in that respect, so far as we are aware, unique among the specimens of *fibulæ* yet found in Ireland or Scotland.‡ It is, therefore, well worthy of a similar distinction, and we have considered it appropriate to associate it with the old name of the district in which it was found—the ancient Dalriada.

The weight of the Dalriada Brooch is 2oz. 6dwt. 18grs. Its specific gravity has been ascertained to be 16.248, (that of distilled water at 60° of Fahrenheit being=1), so that the gold of which it consists is remarkably fine.

Its size, form, and style of ornamentation, will be better learned from the chromo-lithograph which accompanies this paper, than from any written description. The drawings are of the exact size of

* No map that we have seen shows any ford in that neighbourhood, except one which is now superseded by the erection of Agivey Bridge. Perhaps "Gill's Ferry" is intended.

† This brooch is called "Runic," from its bearing an inscription in Runic characters (stated by Dr. Wilson to be in the Gaelic language), and not from the interlaced tracery to which the term Runic is sometimes incorrectly applied.

‡ The only record we have met with of the discovery of such an article made of gold, is contained in the following passage in Martin's *Western Islands of Scotland*, (published in 1703):—"There was a buckle of gold found in Einort (South Uist) some twenty years ago, which was about the value of seven guineas." [p. 88.] This notice, however, does not enable us to ascertain whether the "buckle" was of the kind known to Archæologists as the *fibula*, or one of the more modern description. The specimen is not known to exist; Martin himself appears not to have seen it; and there is also a possibility that it may have been of bronze or silver gilt, and mistaken for gold. We think it right, however, to note the circumstance.

the original, and are from the pencil of Henry O'Neill, Esq.,* so justly celebrated for his beautiful and accurate delineations of objects of ancient Irish art. They are executed with the most minute care, and give as perfect a representation of the interesting original as it is possible to convey by chromo-lithography.

It will be seen that the Brooch is of the cleft pattern; that is, the circlet has an opening through which the pin or tongue may pass; and the part of the circle which adjoins this opening is made very broad, to prevent the pin from slipping over, which would endanger its loss whenever it might be used. On this broadened part of the circle the principal ornaments are disposed. This is probably a more ancient shape than that of the "Tara" and "Runic" Brooches; for in these the circlet is complete and solid all round: while, nevertheless, a part of the circumference is expanded into an exact resemblance of the corresponding portion of the cleft *fibulæ*. As this flattening of the ring is of no use in brooches with an undivided circle, it is likely to have arisen merely in imitation of the cleft pattern, which must, therefore, be esteemed the more ancient style of brooch.

It would be unreasonable to infer that every brooch which retains the ancient shape is necessarily older than others which exhibit a somewhat more modern type. But, in this case, several circumstances combine to lead us to assign to the "Dalriada Brooch" a more ancient date than that of the "Tara" and "Runic" Brooches.

These last have their pins widened at the top into the form of a rhomboidal plate, gemmed, and elaborately ornamented:—in the "Dalriada Brooch," the top of the pin, though elegant, is much more simple; it is attached to the principal circlet of the *fibula* by being bent round it; and the decoration of its upper part consists of a piece of elegant filagree-work, laid upon a thin piece of gold, which is held in its place by having the edges of the pin turned over it at the sides. This filagree-work, and the gold plate on which it was laid, have been broken, probably at a very remote period; so that no more appears than is shown in the front view of the brooch. There can be no doubt that it once covered the whole of the curvature of the pin. The lower end of the pin, from the point to the centre of its length, is adorned with a neatly chased pattern, which we do not recollect to have seen in other specimens. It has also a peculiar curve, which the artist has accurately represented in the side-view of the pin; but, as this is quite an unusual circumstance, it is not improbable that it may have been produced by violence or accident. The workmanship of this brooch, though remarkably fine, and very curious, is by no means so elaborate as that of the Runic Brooch; still less does it come up to the exquisite grace of the Tara *fibula*, which surpasses in its style of execution every other, whether of ancient or modern times, that has yet been exhibited or described. Now, as we must suppose that the very best procurable workmanship would be employed in decorating the most valuable material, we infer, that the "Dalriada Brooch" was made at a time when the art of ornamental design had not reached that perfection which it afterwards attained in Ireland. If it be less elegant in

* Author of the beautiful pictorial work, now in course of publication, entitled *Ancient Stone Crosses of Ireland*.

pattern and execution than the "Tara" and "Runic" Brooches, that very circumstance gives us reason to assign to it whatever enhancement of value may arise from greater antiquity. The Tara Brooch is referred by Dr. Petrie to the 11th century, or the beginning of the 12th, on the ground of its artistic resemblance to the Cross of Cong, and other monuments of that era. If our reasoning be correct, the "Dalriada Brooch" is still more ancient; certainly of a date prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland. It is, therefore, a specimen of genuine native Irish art; and, it may strengthen this inference to remark, that it corresponds generally with the style of decoration which flourished in Ireland during the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries. The interlaced or knotted pattern, and the grotesque and curiously grouped animals which are seen on this brooch, are to be found—as drawings in the possession of Mr. O'Neill abundantly manifest—not only on the Cross of Cong, but on the Ancient Stone Crosses, the Shrine of the *Clog an Eadhachta*, (or St. Patrick's Bell), the Book of Kells, the Book of Durrow, and other undoubted remains of that early period. On inspecting our engravings, it will be seen that on the front are two triangular compartments of unequal size, at the angles of which are placed what we take to be arbutus berries or mulberries. At the top of these triangular members are the heads of two pairs of birds; one of each pair is represented as standing, the other may be conceived as sitting, the body being hidden. Round the outer edge of each member of the fibula, are two animals resembling wolf-dogs, or grey-hounds; one of which has seized the hind leg of the other in his mouth: and there is a serpent contorted between the dogs and the triangles. There are eight perforations in the fibula, four on each side of the cleft. The reverse contains a grotesque figure, compounded of a bird's head, that of a dog, and a human hand. Six birds appear on the pin.

As an elegant example of native art, of an extremely early date, unique as regards the material of which it consists—and that material the most precious of metals—the "Dalriada Brooch" is a relique of the very highest value and importance. We trust that means will be taken to have it deposited in some public institution in Ireland, where it may be seen and appreciated as it deserves.

ANTIQUITY OF SMOKING-PIPES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNAL.

SIR,—Your account, in the last number of the *Journal*,* of the demolition of the cairn at Scraba, and the discoveries therein, interested me very much, in common, I am sure, with all your readers; but I would beg leave to take exception to the opinion expressed by Mr. Carruthers, that the finding of one of the well-known old Irish pipes among the *debris*, settles the question of the age of these articles, by proving, from the circumstance of being discovered in connection with the cairn, the contemporary character of the two objects, the cairn itself being admitted on all sides to have been an erection of a most distant age. I think it by no means settles the question, nor even advances a step in that direction, so long as the position of the pipe in the bottom of the structure, or some other place within it where it could not possibly have been laid by human hands subsequently to the erection of the cairn, remains undefined and unknown. These pipes have afforded Irish antiquaries much room for discussion: many entertain the opinion that they are not older than the era of the introduction of tobacco into the country—no documentary evidence having, I believe, yet been discovered, nor undisputed proof from any other source, that the practice of smoking was known to the ancient Irish. Tobacco, on its first introduction, seems to have seized at once on the public taste, if we may judge from the vast quantity imported into Ireland seventy or eighty years after that time: it is related that Raleigh himself, in the first or second year of James I., was pelted with *tobacco*-pipes in the streets of London. Now, it is but reasonable to suppose, that if any substance, possessed even of a portion of the fascinating qualities of tobacco, had been known in old times, there was nothing in the habits and character of our early ancestors to prevent it from being received with as much favour in their sight as the more genuine weed at the present day is almost over the whole world, and among people in every stage of civilization, and that it would have been noticed accordingly somewhere. I do not assert that the subject is not noticed, but if discovered by any learned inquirer in any ancient document, it should be made known; and it would go farther in settling the question of the antiquity of "Danes' pipes," as they are sometimes called, than any other species of proof that could be adduced.

These remarks, of course, prove nothing with respect to the age of the pipe found at Scraba. They merely prove that probably in the sixteenth century, and certainly 250 years ago, pipes were common and well-known articles, and I have never seen any having the outward or visible signs even of so great antiquity. I once saw one fully as antique in shape as that which is given as a *fac-simile*

* Vol. 3, page 315.

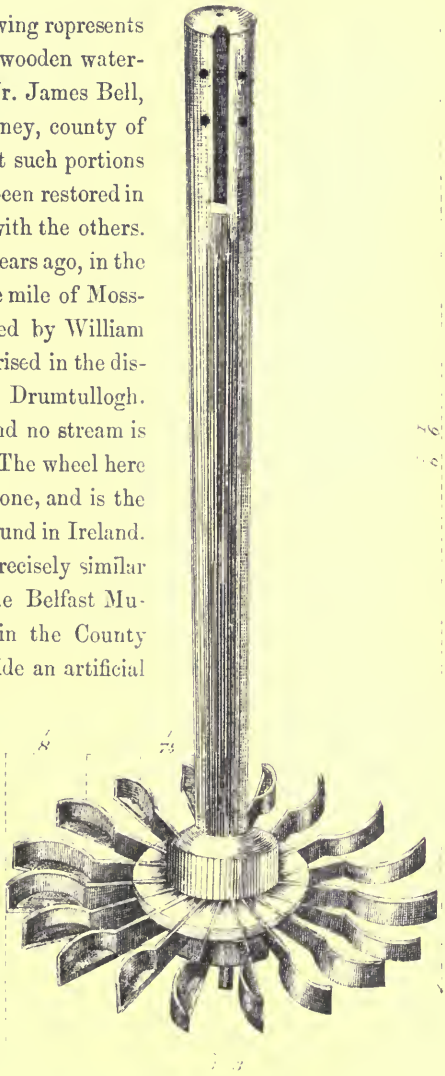
of the pipe found at the cairn, on which were impressed two capital letters, having no appearance of being more than a hundred or a hundred and fifty years old, and which had been sunk evidently in the substance of the clay when plastic. I supposed these letters to be the initials of the maker's name; and pipes so marked are not rare. Some have even been found stamped with names in full. When letters of this character are met with on pipes, they are unmistakeable proofs of a late origin; and, when on those with large bowls and short shanks, (supposed to be the most ancient form), they throw considerable doubt on the claims to antiquity of any of them at all. I have access to a considerable collection in which are some of those pipes, and in which there are also two of metal. One of the latter is of brass or bronze, and marked as having been found near Newry; the other is of iron, and has apparently at one time been coated or ornamented with brass, and is said to have been found near Ballymena. Both very nearly resemble in shape the pipes of the present day. The finder in each case has neglected to do more than give a bare record of the place of discovery, which is most unfortunate; as the information derived from the position in which anything is found, its depth in the ground, its union with or proximity to other articles either of known antiquity or indisputably recent, are often facts of more value than any to be derived from the possession of the object itself. As I have said, it is on this account I fear the finding of the pipe in or at the cairn at Scraba can be of no avail in settling the question of origin. The coins described, there is little doubt, are not co-eval with the cairn; and the writer of the account makes the very reasonable and probable conjecture, that they were concealed in the cairn at a much later period, perhaps by some depositor who had either forgotten them, or who had died with his secret unrevealed. Now, why may not the same reasoning be adopted with respect to the pipe? Why may not it also, at a period later still, have found its way to the same depository in some accidental manner—the forgotten spoils of some gathering of old at the famous cairn of Scraba—the lost pipe of some wayfarer—the "cutty" of some solitary shepherd, dropt from his mouth among the stones of the cairn, when gazing listlessly upon his silly sheep, or dozing in the summer sunshine? These are, of course, all fanciful conjectures; but I am afraid they must be considered at least as good—so far as any proof to the contrary is afforded by the present discovery—as that this Scraba pipe, with some now unknown substance in combustion, had been between the teeth of some Irish chief in the eighth or ninth century, or had been the conductor of soothing and happy influences to the mind of some bard or musician even in the tenth or the eleventh.

From these unconnected observations, it may, perhaps, be inferred, that I am entirely adverse to the theory of the antiquity of pipes. It is not so; but I do think that, at the present time, the weight of proof is in favour of their modern origin. As a minor, though still a curious branch of Irish archæology, the subject is very well deserving of investigation; and I shall willingly adopt a different view from that which I am now disposed to hold, from the evidence accessible to me, when sufficient proof to the contrary, by some more competent inquirer, shall be brought forward.

G. B.

ANCIENT WATER-MILLS.

THE accompanying drawing represents accurately an ancient wooden water-wheel in the possession of Mr. James Bell, of Prospect, near Ballymoney, county of Antrim, excepting only that such portions as are now imperfect have been restored in the drawing to correspond with the others. It was found a number of years ago, in the bog of Moyeraig, within one mile of Mossside, on a farm now occupied by William Hamill, and which is comprised in the district called the Grange of Drumtullogh. The spot is low and flat, and no stream is at present visible near it. The wheel here represented is a horizontal one, and is the most perfect specimen yet found in Ireland. Portions of another, of precisely similar construction, are now in the Belfast Museum, which were found in the County Down, near Killinchy, beside an artificial island or water-fastness, which is now occupied as a garden. The material of the wheel now figured is oak, and when found it was quite soft and spongy, from long immersion in the bog; but on being dried it recovered its hardness and appeared perfectly sound. The water-wheel consists of a nave



and upright axle, both cut out of one solid piece of wood; the entire length being six feet six inches. Round the nave are inserted nineteen buckets or ladles, also of oak, curved in the manner shown in the drawing, and which received the impulse of the stream of water. Ten of these still remain perfect. At the upper end of the axle is a deep groove, twelve inches long, in which moves an oaken wedge, evidently used for the purpose of raising or lowering a small mill-stone which was placed above, or for what would be called now "gristing the mill." The whole mechanism was supported by a stone pivot or gudgeon secured by a wedge at the foot of the axle, where it still remains. This pivot, no doubt, revolved upon another stone hollowed to fit it. A stone of this kind was, in fact, found near

the water-wheel at Killinehy, and is preserved along with it in the Belfast Museum, bearing evident marks of having been deeply perforated by some pivot constantly revolving in it. The buckets are ingeniously fastened into the nave by mortieing, and are firmly secured by an oaken pin driven in a sloping direction from the outer circumference of the nave, in such a manner as to pass through the inner ends of *three* buckets at once; and, as these pins were nineteen in number, and at equal distances, each bucket in the wheel had three pins passing through it, thus securing it completely to the two adjoining ones and to the nave.

No tradition now remains among the people respecting the use of water-mills of this construction in the country; but there is evidence (which I give further on) to prove that they were common—at least in Ulster—three centuries ago. However, down to that period, and even later, the use of the quern or hand-mill was quite general throughout Ireland, and its use is not yet given up in some of the Western Islands of Scotland.

So early as the thirteenth century legal means were adopted in Scotland to compel the people to abandon the use of the hand-mill for the larger water-mills then introduced. In 1284, in the reign of Alexander III., it was enacted that "na man sall presume to grind quheit, maishlock, or rye, with hands mylne, except he be compelled be storm, or be lack of mills, quhilk sould grind the samen. And in this case, gif a man grinds at hand mylnes, he sall gif the threttein measure as multer: and gif anie man contraveins this our prohibition, he sall tine his hand mylnes perpetuallie." Yet in 1819, McCulloch [*Western Isles, Vol.* 2, *p.* 30] states that the quern is found in every house in St. Kilda: and the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, published in 1845, mentions that in the parish of Sandsting, in Shetland, there are "querns or hand-mills without number."

There seems to be reason, however, for believing that water-mills were not unknown in Ireland at a very early period. Dr. O'Donovan, in an article in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, has quoted several passages from the Brehon laws, which are of great antiquity, stating the damages to which the miller and the mill-wright shall be respectively liable in case of an accident occurring in a *mill turned by water*. He also gives reference to many of the Lives of Irish Saints, in which water-mills are expressly mentioned as having been erected by ecclesiastics; proving that they were in use in Ireland not long after the introduction of Christianity. Mr. Getty, in his account of Torry Island, [*Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol.* I., *pp.* 143, 146] mentions the curious circumstance of a very ancient stone cross being fastened at its base into a *mill-stone*: and notes the tradition of the islanders, that all ancient buildings there have a *mill-stone* in their foundation. In the notes to the translation of the *Annals of Ulster*, (now in course of publication in this Journal,) at A.D. 587, it is stated, from the *Breviary of Aberdeen*, that Constantine, a King of Dammonia, in Britain," having abdicated his throne, repaired to Ireland, and became miller to a monastery." It is well known that a mill was almost always in connection with religious houses of the Cistercian order. In the *Annals of Tighernach*, one of the most trustworthy of our old Irish Chronicles, there is a curious passage at the

year 561, where mention is made of the slaughter of the sons of Blathmac, King of Ireland, in the *mill* of Maelodran; and a verse is quoted from an ancient poem in which the bard fancifully addresses the mill thus:—"O mill! what hast thou ground?—precious wheat! Thou hast ground, not oats, but the sons of Cerbhall," &c. [*O'Conor, Rerum Hib. Scriptores, vol.* 2, 198.] The writers of the historical notes to the Ordnance Survey of Londonderry give quotations from the *Book of Kells*, [*MS. Trinity College*] and the *Registry of Clonmacnoise*, [*Clarendon MSS., Brit. Museum*] in which grants of mills to monasteries in the eleventh century are mentioned: and various passages may be found scattered through our Irish Annals in which allusion is made to mills.

Most writers who have mentioned the subject seem to take it for granted, that water-mills must have been introduced into Ireland by Roman ecclesiastics, or at all events from some country subject to Roman sway, especially as it is pretty well ascertained that a mill of some kind was usually established at each Roman station in Britain: and a decisive evidence seemed to be afforded by the similarity, or rather identity of the Irish and Latin names for a mill. A little further examination of the question may perhaps show that this is not so certain, at least as far as the North of Ireland is concerned.

I shall take the philological argument first. Down to a comparatively recent period it was a universal custom among the learned to consider words as necessarily borrowed from the Latin or Greek, whenever any marked resemblance appeared; losing sight of the fact that these languages were themselves the descendants of a still older mother-tongue, which had given birth to numerous independent dialects. The habit is still persisted in by many persons who have not watched the progress of modern Comparative Philology. To an etymologist of this school the Irish word for a mill, *muileann*, (anciently *muilend*,) would appear to be clearly derived from the Latin *molendinum*. The old Irish lexicographer, Cormac, who compiled his Glossary in the 9th century, was not of this opinion, though he gives numerous other explanations of words from Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He says:—"*Muilend*, compounded of *Mol*, i.e. a shaft, and *ond*, a stone: for these are the two things called *the mill*. Or *moland*, q.d. *mo-a-ail*, because its stones are larger than those of the quern *(clocha bron)*. *Muilend* is derived by some from *mel*, to grind, and *linl*, a pond, because it grinds by means of a pond." These derivations of Cormac may be considered more ingenious than probable; although it is worthy of remark that the only word used in Irish for the axle of a mill is the one he has mentioned, *mol*, which has every appearance of being a primitive root. If we found the word *molendinum*, or other dialectic forms of the same root, in those languages only which are known to be direct descendants of the Latin tongue, such as the Italian, Spanish, French, Walloon, &c., we might suspect that it had been borrowed by the Celts of Britain and Ireland. The forms in which it appears in these modern languages are as follows:—

Italian,	Spanish,	French,	Walloon,
mulino.	*molino.*	*moulin.*	*molin.*

But if we examine further we shall find the very same root, little more changed than in the above examples, in a great variety of other languages which can claim an origin as independent as the Latin, and are spoken by nations who were never influenced by Roman sway. The following table exhibits the words signifying "a mill," used in the chief languages of Europe, excluding those already mentioned. It is deserving of note that in all of them the words expressing "mill," the grinding-machine, and "meal," the substance ground, are merely slight modifications of the same root, just as in English; and this circumstance increases the probability that the root is original in these languages, especially when we find that in the Latin and all its immediate descendants, a word entirely different is uniformly employed to denote "meal."[a]

Icelandic, *mylna.*	Welsh, *melin.*	Illyrian, *malin.*
Danish, *mölle.*	Bas-Breton, *milin.*	Laplandish, *milla.*
Swedish, *möll,*	Irish Gaelic, *muileann.*	Finnish, *müllün.*
Frisian, *mellen.*	Scottish Gaelic, *muileann.*	Maygar (or Hungarian), *malom.*
Dutch, *molen.*	Manx, *mwyllin.*	Albanian, *muli.*
Old German, *mulin.*	Lithuanian, *malunas.*	Greek (ancient), μυλη.
Modern German, *mühle.*	Bohemian, *mlyn.*	,, (modern), μυλος.
Swabian, *mülin.*	Polish, *mlyn.*	Latin, *mola*, *molendinum.*
Anglo-Saxon, *miln.*	Wendish, *mlon.*	
English, *mill.*	Russian, *melynica.*	

It will be observed from the preceding table (which might be still further extended) that the word is found from the shores of the Mediterranean to the North Pole, and from the coasts of Spain and Ireland to the extremity of Russia. To complete the chain we have only to note further, that in Persian *mál* is "to grind," and that in Sanscrit, the old language of India, *malana* signifies "rubbing or grinding." The root is therefore one common to all the extensive class of languages known as the Indo-European family, as well as to several out-lying dialects not included among them. There can be little doubt, therefore, that it is one of extreme antiquity, and cannot be claimed exclusively by the Latin any more than by the Celtic.

Next, as to the probability of the Romans having introduced the water-mill into the British islands. Even so late as the age of Vespasian, (who died A.D. 79), the old primitive process of *pounding* corn in mortars was still in use throughout Italy.[b] This was a trade followed by only the poorest people; and at one time of his life, Plautus, the well-known Latin author, pounded corn for a livelihood. Pliny says that two of the chief families of Rome (Pilumnus and Piso) took their names from having invented or improved the construction of the pestle used for this purpose.[c] However, the hand mill was no doubt in extensive use from a remote period, not only in Italy,[d] but all over Europe

[a] Namely—Latin, *farina;* Italian, *farina;* Spanish, *harina;* Portuguese, *farinha;* French, *farine,* &c.

[b] Plin. Lib. xviii. c 10.

[c] Plin Lib. xviii. c. 3.

[d] Terence often uses the expression *ad pistrinum.*

and the East. We meet with allusions to it in the Bible; and it must have been well known among the Gauls and Britons in Cæsar's time, as he speaks of their *molita cibaria*, or ground bread-stuffs.

The water-mill does not appear to have been a Roman invention: Strabo mentions that a mill of this kind was erected in Pontus (in Asia) at the palace of King Mithridates,[e] which is the earliest of which we have any record. Indeed we have it on Roman authority that water-mills were not introduced into Italy before the time of Julius Cæsar (who died B.C. 44); and were then only used by a few individuals.[f] Pliny's slight notice of them, which only occurs in one sentence of his entire great work, shows that they were by no means common in his day[g]: he died A.D. 79. The earliest mention of *public* water-mills is about the year 398, under the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius; and the manner in which they are referred to in the laws of the period shows that they were then a novelty.[h] Now it was at this very time that the Romans finally abandoned Britain.

It appears, therefore, that the Romans never used water-mills to any great extent; nor have we any satisfactory proof that they established such mills at each of their military stations in Britain. Many small mill-stones, indeed, belonging to Roman *hand*-mills, have been discovered on the sites of Roman stations; but, so far as I am aware, only a few doubtful cases have been brought forward to prove the existence of water-mills at those places.[i]

For the foregoing reasons, and from the consideration that there never was a friendly intercourse maintained between Ireland and the Roman province, it seems unlikely that water-mills were introduced into this country from Roman Britain. We must therefore seek for their origin in some other quarter: and in my opinion the weight of probability rests on the North of Europe. Although the Danes and Norwegians did not effect their conquest of Ireland for many centuries after the departure of the Romans from their British province, they, and the other maritime tribes in the neighbourhood of the Baltic, had maintained an intercourse with these islands for an indefinite period. The details of this intercourse are unknown to us, further than what may be gathered from scanty allusions in old Irish Annals and Icelandic Sagas. But there seems to be little doubt that, during the obscure period alluded to, these Gothic tribes had been gradually colonizing the East and North of Scotland, and, of course, bringing with them whatever arts of civilized life they possessed; which, there is sufficient reason to believe, were greatly superior to those existing in their new colonies. A people who could send out fleets of well equipped vessels, and armies of mailed warriors, sweeping the coasts of Europe and conquering wherever they appeared, must have possessed considerable mechanical skill, and were not likely to be without water-mills for grinding their corn. Their native hills abounded in cascades, suggesting the employment of water-power, and their forests furnished the materials for their mill-wheels.

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[e] Strabo, xii., 3, § 30.
[f] Vitruv. x. 5, 2.
[g] Plin. Lib. xviii. c. 10.
[h] Cod. Theodos, 14, 15.

[i] Whitaker [*History of Manchester*] mentions the discovery of a conduit which he considers to have been the mill-course of a Roman mill; but this and a few other similar traces by no means settle the question.

Now, it so happens, that the Irish poetical account of the first water-mill ever erected in Ireland, (written by a bard who died A.D. 1024), and the popular tradition, state that the mill-wright who constructed it was brought from Scotland. This was in the third century; when, as the poet relates, the monarch Cormac, desirous of saving a beautiful bond-maid the labour of grinding corn daily in a quern, sent *across the sea* for a mill-wright, who erected a mill on the stream of Nith, near Tara.[1] We have no description of this mill to assist us in forming a conception of its form or construction; but we may assume that it was of wood, and of a simple form, probably not very different from the one which is the subject of the present article. This traditionary story, at all events, points to the quarter from whence the invention was believed to have come. Now, if on examination we should find that mills quite similar to our specimen were in use, or are actually still in use, in a number of districts in the British islands, and the islands adjoining, known to have been peculiarly Scandinavian and for centuries under the government of the Northmen, it would be difficult to avoid the inference that these machines were introduced thither by them. This I am enabled to show from various independent authorities, whose several notices of mills I now place together for comparison.

1. *In the Feroe Islands :—*

> "The construction of a water-wheel in Feroe is exceedingly simple. The building, for the most part, consists merely of wood, the roof being supported by four posts or pillars; but, to save timber, these pillars are sometimes built of stone, mixed with mud: it is entirely open below, so that the water can have a free course through it. On the ground is placed a loose beam, having in the middle a piece of iron with a smooth hole in it, which, however, does not pass through the beam This hole is made to receive the gudgeon of a perpendicular axle, which proceeds up to the mill-stone, and this axle supplies the place of a crown-wheel and spindle. To the upper end of the axle is fixed a round rod of iron, which passes through the lower stone, and which supports the iron cross that bears the upper mill-stone. At the lower end of the axle, there are eight leaves or boards, morticed into it, about eighteen inches in length, a foot in breadth, and from one to one-and-a-quarter inch in thickness. These leaves, which perform the part of a water-wheel, do not stand exactly in a perpendicular, but a somewhat oblique direction, so as to turn their flat sides towards the water which falls upon them; and the spout, which must give the water a sudden fall, is placed with its lower end close to these leaves. From one end of the beam lying on the ground, which supports the axle and the upper mill-stone, a piece of wood rises in a perpendicular direction towards the mill-work, where it rests on wedges: and by pushing in or drawing out these wedges, the upper stone can be raised or lowered at pleasure. The mill-stone makes a hundred revolutions in a minute; but as the stones, in general, are small, and have no furrows in them, they grind slowly, and are not calculated for the preparation of grits or barley."—[*Landt's Feroe Islands*, 1810, p. 293.]

[1] Poem of Cuan O'Lochain, quoted in the historical notes to the *Ordnance Survey of Londonderry.*

2. *In the Shetland Islands :—*

In skirting along the harbour [*Rigsetter Voe*, in Shetland] numerous slender rills were observed "ambling down the dales to pay their tribute to the Voe. These occasionally served to supply some small mill, the presence of which was signified by a low shed of unhewn stones, that stretched across a diminutive streamlet, over which it was possible in many places to stride :— compared indeed with a water-mill of Scotland or England, the grinding apparatus of Shetland seemed designed for a race of pigmies. The mill-stones are commonly formed of a micaceous gneiss, being from thirty to thirty-six inches in diameter. Under the frame-work by which they are supported, is a sort of horizontal wheel, of the same diameter as the mill-stones, named a *Tirl*, which consists of a stout cylindrical post of wood, about four feet in length, into which are morticed twelve small float-boards, placed in a slanting direction, or at an oblique angle. It has a pivot at its under end, which runs on a hollowed iron plate, fixed on a beam. A strong iron spindle, attached to the upper end of the Tirl, passes through a hole in the under mill-stone, and is firmly wedged in the upper one. A trough conducts the water that falls from the hill upon the feathers of the Tirl, at an inclination of 40° or 45° which, giving motion to the upper mill-stone, turns it slowly round. To the hopper that surmounts the upper mill-stone there is a log of wood fastened, which, striking upon the uneven upper surface of the stone, shakes this repository for the corn and makes it come out; while too quick an escape is checked by a device for lessening the size of the aperture. But sometimes there is no hopper at all, and a man patiently feeds the mill with his hand." Such is a description of this exquisite piece of machinery, the invention of which is probably as old as the time of Harold Harfagre. Captain Preston, the author of the old nautical chart of Shetland, was, during his detention on this coast by shipwreck, shown a Shetland mill, and was at the same time informed that it had been for many years a source of dispute between two landed proprietors. The Englishman looked at his Cicerone with surprise, and, significantly eyeing the object of contention, replied with a sneer,—"I can certainly conceive of no dispute which such a structure ought to have reasonably occasioned, but—whether it is a mill or no!"—[*Hibbert's Description of the Shetland Islands*, 1822.]

3. *In the Hebrides :—*

"The mills in Lewis are probably the greatest curiosity a stranger can meet with on the island. There is scarcely a stream along the coast, on any part of the island, on which a mill is not to be seen. These mills are of very small size, and of a very simple construction. The water passes through their middle, where the wheel, a solid piece of wood, generally eighteen inches in diameter, stands perpendicularly. A bar of iron runs through the centre of this wheel. This bar of iron or axle rests on a piece of steel which is fixed on a plank, the one end of which is fixed in the mill wall, the other in the end of a piece of plank which stands at right angles with the plank on which the wheel rests. The upper end of the axle fits into a cross-bar of iron, which is fitted

into the upper mill-stone, which is rested upon wooden beams or long stones. There is a purchase upon the end of the said perpendicular beam or plank, by which the upper mill-stone can be raised or lowered. There are nine pieces of board, eight inches broad and a foot and a half long, fixed in the wheel, parallel and at equal distance from each other, upon which the water is brought to bear: which, together with a few sticks for roof, and some heather for thatch, consitutes a Lewis mill."—[*New Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1845.]

In 1819, McCulloch states that the quern was found in every house in St. Kilda, and recommends the establishment of a water-mill to supersede it. He says:—"The expense of a Highland mill is no obstacle, as it does not amount to a great many shillings. The stones are about three feet in diameter, the upper being fixed on a vertical axis that passes through the lower and through the floor of the hut, which is built on the edge of a rock or bank over some stream. This axis is about four feet long, working on any casual stone by an iron pivot,—the only iron in the whole construction. Sixteen or eighteen rude sticks, scooped at the outer ends like a spoon, are driven horizontally into it, their flat sides being vertically placed to catch the stream directed against them. The hopper is suspended by four strings from the roof of the hut, which is scarcely sufficient to contain a man upright. It would not be easy to construct the horizontal mill on cheaper terms."—[*McCulloch's Western Isles of Scotland*, vol. 2, p. 30.]

4. *Isle of Man*:—

"Many of the rivers (or rather rivulets) not having sufficient water to drive a mill the greatest part of the year, necessity has put them on an invention of a cheap sort of mill, which, as it costs very little, is no great loss though it stands six months in the year. The water-wheel, about six feet in diameter, lies horizontal, consisting of a great many hollow ladles, against which the water, brought down in a trough, strikes forcibly and gives motion to the upper stone, which by a beam and iron is joined to the centre of the water-wheel."—[*Gibson's Camden (Isle of Man)*, vol. 2. p. 1448.]

5. *Ulster*:—

"I conclude with a few remarks more, viz., that from the said long bogg," [beside Newtownards, in the County Down] "issue many rills and streams, which make small brooks (some of them almost dry in ye summer), that run to ye sea on each side of ye upper half barony; and on them each townland almost had a little miln for grinding oats, dryed in potts or singed and leazed in ye straw, which was ye old Irish custom, the mealle whereof called *graddane* was very cours. The milns are called Danish or ladle milnes; the axeltree stood upright and ye small stones or querns (such as are turned with hands) on ye top thereof; the water wheel was fixed at ye lower end of ye axeltree, and did run horizontally among ye water; a small force driving it. I have seen of them in ye Isle of Man, where the Danes domineered as well as here in Ireland, and left their customs behind them."—[*Montgomery MSS.*, p. 321.]

Any one, by comparing the foregoing separate descriptions, will at once perceive that the several mills mentioned are identical, in principle and construction, with the one described in the present paper, while differing in a few details, such as the number of buckets or paddles. It will also be noticed that the districts, in which they are described as commonly used, form, when taken together, a geographical chain leading directly from the country of the Northmen through the old seats of their dominion in these countries, and terminating on the eastern coast of our own province. It will be seen, likewise, that the last of the extracts alludes specially to the popular tradition, both in Ulster and the Isle of Man, that these mills were *Danish*. The same passage (written about the year 1698) shows, also, that in the County of Down, a short time previously, such mills were quite common. It is only remarkable that more of their remains have not been discovered; but this has arisen, no doubt, from the perishable nature of their materials.[k]

Before quitting the present subject I would offer a few remarks on the term *greddan*, used in the last of the preceding extracts (from the *Montgomery MSS.*) to denote a kind of meal made from burnt corn.

Our ancestors prepared their grain for grinding in a very primitive manner. The most graphic account of the process that I have seen is given by Martin, in his *Western Islands of Scotland*, published in 1703. He says:—"The ancient way of dressing corn, which is yet used in several isles, is called *Graddan*, from the Irish word *grad*, which signifies quick. A woman, sitting down, takes a handful of corn, holding it by the stalks in her left hand, and then sets fire to the ears, which are presently in a flame. She has a stick in her right hand, which she manages very dextrously, beating off the grain at the very instant when the husk is quite burnt, for if she miss of that she must use the kiln, but experience has taught them this art to perfection. The corn may be so dressed, winowed, ground, and backed, within an hour after reaping from the ground. The oat-bread dressed as above is loosening, and that dressed in the kiln astringent, and of greater strength for labourers; but they love the *Graddan*, as being more agreeable to their taste. This barbarous custom is much laid aside, since the number of their mills encreas'd. Captain Fairweather, master of an English vessel, having dropt anchor at *Bernera* of *Glenely*, over against *Skie*, saw two women at this imployment, and wondring to see so much flame and smoak, he came near, and finding that it was corn they burnt, he run away in great hast, telling the natives that he had seen two mad-women very busie burning corn; the people came to see what the matter was, and laugh'd at the Captain's mistake; tho' he was not a little surpriz'd at the strangeness of a custom that he had never seen or heard of before." [p. 204.]

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[k] Some traces, however, have been discovered. Mr. Welsh, of Dromore, writes me that "about thirty years ago, a small mound of stones and rubbish (traditionally known to be the ruins of an ancient mill) stood in a field, in the townland of Killyscolban, county of Down, beside a small stream. It was removed by the late Mr. Reid of Ednego; and, in the progress of the removal, a small mill-stone was discovered, two feet nine inches in diameter, having a perforation in the centre of six inches. There was also found an oaken trough hollowed out of a solid piece of timber, measuring inside one foot four inches across, and 7¼ inches deep. A portion of it still exists on the farm, and is converted into a trough for feeding pigs."

It is this custom that the following satirical allusion refers to, in a poem written a couple of centuries ago in derision of the Ulstermen, who are described as—

"Yoking hobbies by the tail,
And thrashing corn *with fiery flail.*"

Even legal enactments were passed against it; and the 10th and 11th of Charles I. direct that no person shall burn corn or grain in the straw, upon pain of imprisonment in the common jail for ten days.

The derivation given in the foregoing passage by Martin, for the term *Graddan*, is incorrect. The word undoubtedly comes from a root signifying to *scorch* or *burn*, which exists still in several languages. The English word *grid*-iron has the same origin; as also the Scotch *griddle*, Welsh *greidell*, Irish-Gaelic *grideal*, Scottish-Gaelic, *greadag* and *greidlean*, and Swedish *graedd-panna*, all signifying a plate of iron for frying or scorching different kinds of food. The root itself appears in the Irish and Scottish-Gaelic *gread*, the Welsh *greidio*, and the Swedish *graedda*, to scorch.[1]

The practice of scorching grain before grinding must have been prevalent in many countries from the most remote times. Various passages in the Old Testament make mention of *parched* corn;—as (*Leviticus*, xxiii., 14.) "Ye shall eat neither bread nor parched corn."—(*Ruth*, ii., 14.) "And he reached her parched corn and she did eat."—(1 *Samuel*, xvii., 17.) "Take now for thy brethren an ephah of this parched corn;" &c. The Greeks had a particular term for roasted grain, καγξυς, and we occasionally meet with allusions to it in Greek authors; as in Aristophanes, [*Nubes*, *l.* 1358] where he speaks of "women singing as they ground their *roasted* grain." The Romans must likewise have roasted their corn before grinding, although I do not find the fact specially mentioned by any of the writers on Roman antiquities. Virgil's line [*Æneid*, I., 183]:—

——"frugesque receptas
Et torrere parant flammis et frangere saxo,"

has been considered by some of his commentators to be a transposition of ideas; the application of heat being supposed to refer to the baking of the bread after grinding. I have no doubt, however, that the poet simply describes the process of roasting the corn before submitting it to the mill-stones. Pliny attributes the institution of the custom to King Numa, who ordained that an offering of salt and meal should be made to the Gods, and that the corn should be *roasted*, as being then a more wholesome food [*Lib.* 18, *c.* 2]; and he describes the process used in Etruria of first roasting the grain and then pounding it with a pestle and mortar. [*Lib.* 18, *c.* 10.] Indeed the application of heat to grain before grinding, as a means of facilitating that operation, is an idea that would readily occur to every people: and, there can be little doubt, that if the inquiry were pursued farther, we should find the custom in almost every country in the world. We still retain it even in modern times; for our process of *kiln-drying* is only the roasting of grain on a large scale.

Belfast. ROBERT MACADAM.

[1] O'Brien [*Irish Dict.*] gives another Irish word for burnt or roasted grain,—*loisgrean*, derived in like manner from the Irish word *losg*, to burn.

NOTICES OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS.

Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society for the year 1853 : (Vol. ii., part II.) Dublin, John O'Daly, 1855.—8vo., pp. 194.

Some time since we had the pleasure of directing the attention of our readers to the Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, for the year 1852: [see *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ii., pp. 195-199.] We are happy to meet again, in the fasciculus which has just made its appearance, many of the writers whose former communications gave us so much pleasure; and to perceive that their zeal in the cause of Irish Antiquities has not flagged, nor their ability declined: but the subjects which have recently engaged their pens, though locally interesting, are scarcely of the same importance, generally speaking, with those which were discussed in the previous publication.

The papers in this *fasciculus* are—a "Memoir of the Ancient Market Cross of Kilkenny," by Mr. Prim. The destruction of this curious monument is much to be regretted; nevertheless it is a consolation to know that the act was not wilful. The cross was taken down to be erected in a more sightly and convenient situation; but, for want of funds or for other causes, the work of reconstruction was delayed so long, that when the materials were, after a long interval, sought for, they had disappeared.—Mr. Windele contributes an "Account of an ancient cemetery at Ballymaeus, county Cork." This appears to be a burying-place of a very early age, the corpses which it contains having been interred in *Kist-vaens*, covered by rude undressed stones. Five of these primeval sepulchres were opened and examined, but no vestige of any kind of human art was discovered; nor any sign of concremation. Mr. Windele combats—surely at needless length—the opinion of a brother antiquary, who had maintained that no trace of any human body can possibly be found remaining 2,250 years after interment; and gives some curious particulars in support of his own view, in which we completely concur.—Mr. Hitchcock has three papers; the first, a continuation of his "Gleanings from Country Church-Yards;" the second, and more valuable one, is a notice of the "Round Towers of the county of Kerry;" and the third, "Notes made in the Archæological Court of the Great Exhibition," (in Dublin) of 1853.—We have a learned legal paper on "Certain Obsolete Modes of inflicting Punishment," by Mr. O'Shaughnessy; an "Account of some Antiquities in the neighbourhood of Buttevant, by Mr Brash;" a memoir on the "Ancient Cross of Banagher, King's County,"

by Thomas L. Cooke, Esq ; and a very curious and interesting account of "the Pagan *Cemetery* at Ballon-Hill, County Carlow," by Mr. *Graves*; a paper from which we regret our limits do not permit us to quote; but we trust many of our readers will study it in the pages of the *Transactions.* Two papers on "Folk Lore," one on the "Olden Pastimes of Kilkenny," and one misnamed "the Inauguration of Cathal Crobhdhearg O'Conor, King of Connaught," complete the *Transactions :* but along with them is published a *fasciculus* of the "Proceedings" of the Society: a series of notes of papers read, and discussions which took place at its meetings, during the year 1853 : from which many interesting facts may be gleaned. The real antiquarian will always hail with pleasure the successive publications of the Kilkenny Society, while it pursues its present useful and judicious course. Why have we no similar institution in the North of Ireland ?

The Most Interesting of the Ancient Crosses of Ireland : carefully measured, and lithographed by HENRY O'NEILL.—LONDON, Ackerman, Strand; Bell, Fleet-Street; and Gambart, Berner's-Street, Oxford-Street.—*Large Folio.*

While so many causes of ruin and decay are continually operating, there is danger lest some of the ancient stone crosses which attract the admiration of the artists and antiquaries of all countries, who have visited Ireland, may be lost to art and even to memory; and it was a happy thought to preserve them in a series of engravings, faithfully representing them, on a scale that permits their execution to be seen and appreciated. The work could not have been undertaken by a gentleman more competent in every respect to do it justice, than Mr. O'Neill. With a warm—we might say enthusiastic—admiration of ancient Irish art, he combines antiquarian lore, artistic skill, untiring perseverance, and a style as clear and glowing as his own wonder-working pencil. His work is to be completed in six parts, each comprising six plates with descriptive letter-press. Four parts, containing twenty-four plates, have already appeared; and the conclusion of the volume may be looked for at no distant time. Were we to speak of the part which has been published, as our feelings prompt, we should be thought by those who have not seen Mr. O'Neill's volume to speak in terms of extravagant eulogy: but, persons who have examined it, will know that it would be difficult to speak of it more highly than its merits deserve. Suffice it to say, that, for interest of the subjects drawn and described,—for beauty, grace, and freedom of execution,—for skilful grouping, and richness of effect,—we know not the work on Irish scenery which could be put in comparison with it. As studies of landscape, these drawings are worth far more than the very moderate sum at which they are offered to the public; while to the antiquary and the student they are invaluable. We hope they will be extensively known :—wherever they are known they cannot fail to be admired.

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE TRINITARIAN BROTHERS OF REDEMPTION.—I have but little acquaintance with ecclesiastical antiquities, and therefore write with deference: still, I think it strange that the *Monasticon Hibernicum*, according to Mr. Evans, gives only one establishment to the Redemptionists in Ireland. For Lopez, in his *Noticias Historicas de las tres florentissimas Provincias del celeste Orden de la Santissima Trinidad, Redempcion de Cautivos, en Inglaterra, Escocia, y Hybernia*, (Madrid, 1714,) describes no less than fifty-four houses of the order in Ireland, and minutely details the circumstances attending their suppression, when (in the words of the author,) Henry VIII. converted the *Isla de Santos* into a *Tierra de Demonios*.

The establishments of the order were classed in Provinces. The Province of England had forty-five houses, that of Scotland thirty-seven; while the Irish, from their insular position, being sons of the sea, "*hijos de mer*," were more liable to be made captives, and had the number already mentioned. I shall give the names of the Irish houses and a few notes, all from Lopez. Probably he exceeds the real number, being misled by the names: thus;—Mullingariensis, and Soulangariensis, may have been the same establishment; so, Ballahij, and Ballarij. The work, however, contains much curious matter, and must possess great interest to the ecclesiastical antiquary.

Jean Matha instituted the order of Redemption about the close of the twelfth century, during the pontificate of Innocent III. According to Lopez, the first house of the order in Scotland was founded in 1202, in the reign of William I. A certain Earl of March, a Scottish nobleman, having had two valued servants redeemed from slavery by the order, became a warm patron of it, and by his intercession the Earl of Kildare founded the first house of the order in Ireland, at Athar, in the Bishoprick of Limerick, in 1230. The first superior was John Cuming, a Scotsman. This would be in the reign of Henry III., and not that of Edward I., as stated by Mr. Evans; whom, by the way, I do not mean to contradict—but merely give the version of Lopez, the historian of the order in these countries.

Domus
- Athariensis.
- Dublinicnsis.[a]
- Limericiensis.[b]
- Korkagiensis.[c]
- Kilkenniensis.
- Killociensis.
- Galviensis.[d]
- Kildariensis.
- Valuronensis.
- Mosquerensis.[e]
- Laonensis.
- Bellufonensis.
- Arvaecnsis.
- Ossoriensis.
- Pontanensis.[f]

[a] Founded in 1233.

[b] The Convent of the Holy Cross, founded by the Earl of Desmond, in 1235. It was situated within the walls of the city, near the bridge, and possessed a valuable salmon fishery.

[c] Founded in 1238.

[d] Founded in 1246, and situated in the capital of Connaught, near the river Ausoba.

[e] Founded in 1252. This convent was an hospital and sanctuary situated in a desert, and gave great charities to travellers. No women were allowed to enter the church of the convent, but heard mass underneath a shelter of branches built as a portico, which defended them from the sun in summer, and rain and snow in winter.

[f] "Drohage in lengua Hybernia" Founded by a noble cavalier, Simon Streeh, in 1272.

Domus
Trullensis.
Insulæ de la Santa Trinitatis [g]
Rossensis.
Adamarchano.
Dundalei.
Roscomanensis.
Watefordiensis.[h]
Mindensis.
Cassiliensis.
Tuamensis.
Ballahij.
Soulangariensis.
Archavo.
Luigonensis.
Orlar.
Domus
Ballarij.
Longfordiensis.
Nova Villa.
Bannivensis.
Anglana.
Acletanensis. [i]
Roscomanensis.
Dunensis.
Calariæ.
Triparteriensis.
Calatrane.
Chovan.
Domus
Lothuanensis. [j]
Thulsi
Mullingariensis.
Rochildensis.
Lycensis. [k]
Noveliensis.
Aquiensis.
Scehilgapensis.
Westmetensis.
Kerryensis.
Estmethensis.
Caterzoch.

These notes might be extended to any length, for the Irish Province of Redemptionists occupies the third part of Lopez' large folio volume with its convents, saints, and martyrs. The most distinguished of the latter was Brother Arthur O'Neill, a scion of the noble family of that name. According to Lopez, he visited the mythical court of the mythical Prester John, and suffered martyrdom at Babylon. W. Pinkerton.

Hint to Irish Archæologists.—In 1833 and '34, M. Fauriel delivered a course of lectures before the "Faculty of Letters," *(Faculté des lettres)*, at Paris, on Dante, and the origin of the language and literature of Italy. These lectures were published at Paris last year (1854), edited by M. Jules Mohl, under the following title:—*Dante et les origines de la langue, et de la littérature Italiennes.* (Durand, Paris.) One of the lectures had for its subject the "Celtic languages;" but this lecture is wanting, for the following reason, which we shall give in the words of M. Mohl: (Preface:)—

"M. Fauriel avait l'habitude d'écrire ses leçons d'abord sur des feuillets isolés, et de les faire copier ensuite en forme de cahiers. Il prêtait avec la plus grande facilité ces cahiers; et ni les abus nombreux par lesquels sa confiance a été payée, ni les représentations de ses amis n'ont jamais pu vaincre ses habitudes généreuses. Il s'en est suivi qu'à la mort de l'auteur à peu près la moitie des cahiers du cours sur Dante manquaient, et qu' on n'a retrouvé aucun indice des personnes à qui ils étaient prêtés. J'ai fait dans la préface de "l'Histoire de la poésie Provençale" un appel aux emprunteurs de ces cahiers; mais je suis presque honteux d'avoir à déclarer, que quatre seulement m'ont été rendus, et tous les quatres par des dames; pendant qu' aucun homme ne parait avoir pensé que la justice et la reconnaissance l'obligeaient à restituer ce qu' il pouvait avoir en main. * * * Sans la recherche infatigable à laquelle s'est livrée

[g] A beautiful building, and favourite retreat of the aged brothers of the order, after their labours of mercy in foreign lands. Founded in 1285.

[h] Dedicated to St. Peter, and founded in 1273.

[i] Famous for its grammar school.

[j] A poor convent at first, but subsequently augmented by Robert Harvey, Archbishop of Dublin, and inquisitor of Clement V. against the Knights Templars.

[k] Not a large convent, but well situated, at the end of a street called the Royal. It possessed an orchard and library, for the recreation and instruction of the towns people.

la pieuse amitié de l'heritière des papiers de M. Fauriel, il eût été impossible de recomposer ces leçons, qui pourtant ont été complétées toutes à l' exception de celle qui traite des langues Celtiques, et dont il ne s'est trouvé que des parties insuffisantes pour la publication.'—

M. Mohl then concludes with another earnest appeal, to those who borrowed but did not return the papers on the Celtic languages, to place them in his hands; for the course on Dante is not complete without that lecture. Of the value of this lecture, or treatise, to Ireland, and its archæology, we may judge from what we learn from M. Mohl, in another part of the preface, where he tells us that M. Fauriel made the Celtic languages a regular study, and that he has left among his papers "considerable collections of poems in *Gaelic* and *Irish*, (*Scottish* Gaelic and *Irish* Gaelic), and materials of every kind for a history of these races."

It is to be hoped that Irish archæologists will not lose sight of this information, and that these valuable documents may yet be collected and published. With this view I desire to place the fact, that M. Fauriel left such papers, on record in the *Ulster Archæological Journal*.

C. McSweeny.

"Strange Invention of a Man to pass a Brook greatly risen by the abundance of Rain."—"It shall not be improper to insert here a partieular observed by a very credible and reverend person, Theophilus Buckwort, Bishop of Dremore, the which he hath severall times related to my brother and others, being this:—The Lagon, a little river or brook which passeth by the town of Dremore, upon a certain time being greatly risen through a great and lasting rain, and having earryed away the wodden bridge whereby the same used to be passed at that town, a country fellow who was travelling that way, having stayed three dayes in hope that the water would fall, and seeing that the rain continued, grew impatient of staying longer, and resolved to pass the brook whatever the danger was; but to doe it with the less perill and the more steadiness, he took a great heavy stone upon his shoulders, whose weight giving him some firmness against the violence of the water he passed the same without harm, and came safe to the other side, to the wonderment of many people, who had been looking on and given him all for a lost person."—*Boates' Ireland's Naturall History*, 1652, p. 59.

To the Editor of the Ulster Arhæological Journal.

Sir,—About the year 1853, while some labourers were removing certain old dwelling-houses that were built on ground the property of the Vicars Choral, in Castle-Street, Armagh an ancient bronze badge was found, of which the accompanying engraving is a faithful representation. It has been submitted to one distinguished for antiquarian research, and he gives it as his opinion that it is the badge of the porter of the College of King Charles in the Church of St. Patrick, Armagh, founded A.D. 1634. The device is a crescent and star, and round the margin the abbreviated inscription: ◇Pr OF TIE: N:CE ARMAGH,—which should be read "*Porter of the New College of Armagh.*" TIE was intended for THE, but the engraver omitted the horizontal line of the H. The loops round the edge were for the purpose of fastening it to the porter's dress, as such a badge would only have been worn by a subordinate officer. The period to which we may assign this relic can

be easily ascertained. "On the 23rd day of May, in the 10th year of his reign (1634) King Charles I., by letters patent granted to Archbishop James Ussher, ordained that there should be a company or college founded *anew* in the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, Armagh, to consist of eight vicars-choral, and one organist, to celebrate and administer divine service in the Church of St. Patrick, Armagh, aforesaid, for ever." According to the laws and customs of said company, this company is styled in the patent "The College of King Charles, in the Church of St. Patrick, Armagh." The choir is formed into a body corporate and politic, to endure for ever. To this body corporate, various tracts of lands, which had formerly belonged to the ancient Culdean priory, were granted by the charter; also, the priory of the Colidei in the city of Armagh, (which stood in the rear of the present Castle-Street), with its site, circuit, precincts, and appurtenances. The reader who is anxious for more information about the "New College," is referred to *Stuart's History of Armagh*. The office of *porter* is very ancient, but rather undefined. Of ecclesiastical porters Dr. Reeves told us lately in his lecture on the celebrated *Book of Armagh*, that the custody of the book belonged to one family who held certain lands on the tenure of its safe-keeping. Thus we find Primate Scanlan, in enumerating the rents payable to the See of Armagh, mentions among them:—"From the lands of the porter of the canon, 5s." The "porter" probably carried the *Book of Armagh* in its case in ecclesiastical processions. His designation in Irish was *Maor*, i.e., warden or Steward, and we find so early as in 1367, his family had the name of McMoyre, which was not, it seems, their original name, but was derived from the office inherited by them. In 1609, at an inquisition made at Armagh, the McMoyre family had the eight townlands for one mark Irish, or about £4 a year. It was evidently an ecclesiastical porter who wore the badge engraved. At the head of this paper we are informed that retainers of every condition wore the badge of their lord; and the minstrel of a noble house was distinguished by having it attached to a silver chain. Would it not be interesting to inquire if there be any allusion to the porter in the bye-laws of the Vicars-Choral, made by Archbishop James Ussher, at the foundation of the institution; or if there be any entry, in the books of accounts, of salaries paid to subordinate officers of the "Royal College of Vicars?" There is reason to suppose such bye-laws and accounts of salaries are deposited in the Record-Room, built by Primate Robinson, opposite to the west end of the cathedral, as a safe depository for papers of consequence; but to this Record-Room access can only be had by a written order from the Lord Primate. However, his Grace's well known liberality encourages the hope that, if application were made, he would not refuse permission; for such a search might serve to ascertain and clear up a very obscure portion of the history of the Armagh Cathedral Choir. The bronze article that has given rise to the foregoing remarks is now deposited in the *Armagh Natural History and Archæological Society's Museum*, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. B. P. Davidson, their efficient secretary.

T. A.

A few weeks ago, I was amusing myself in the State Paper Office (London), reading some of the Irish letters of deputies, &c., about the year 1680. I observed that on nearly all the letters the *sand* used to prevent blotting still stuck. The query suggested itself, where or with whom did this untidy custom commence? In all old MSS. as far as I recollect, no expedient of the kind seems to have been employed; and, I therefore conclude, that the ancient scribes allowed their writing to dry in the air, or perhaps laid the document in the sun. May not the durability of the ink have been increased by this means; a larger body of it being allowed to remain on the paper or parchment than in later days of penmanship, when sand or blotting-paper were employed? At present a sand box is seldom or never seen; but many persons must recollect when the article formed a part of every writing-stand: indeed, there was a luxury in sand as in everything else, and, while plain people drew a supply from the sea-beach, ladies and dandies

used some powdered mineral shining with mica, or some other glittering substance. The writer recollects in an extensive merchant's office in Belfast, that "the sand-drawer" was as well-known as the "cash-drawer;" and there was a poor woman who made a business of supplying offices. At this period blotting-paper, always red, was used in the books of the counting-house, but not applied as now to drying writings in sheets. H. P.

Cave-Hill Caves.—I beg to suggest that, by means of ladders, some inquirer might ascend to the "third cave," as it is called, and examine it with care. It may contain ogham inscriptions, or other matters of interest, well preserved by the inaccessibility of the spot. E. G.

QUERIES.

Earl's Grove—Earl's Meadows.—These names occur at a very early date, applied to lands near Belfast. They are now known as "the Grove," the residence (in the memory of persons still living) of Mr. Carson and Mr. Simms; now of Mr. John Sinclair; all the successors of a family called Green, from whom was derived another name of the same locality, not altogether lost in my boyhood,—"Green's Burns." This family held immediately from the Chichesters—"under the office"—to use a not uncommon phrase. The Greens gave the name to a point on the bay, as shown on the old townland map, of "town parks," or "new enclosure." Green's Point was lost in our own day, in the name of "The Point Fields." The representatives of this ancient family are the Thompsons of Garden Hill, occupying what is probably a part of the original "take." It was one of the Green family who paid for the enclosure of the Deer-park, at the Cave-Hill.

Well, what is the origin of the expression "Earl's Meadow?" Spelman, (Glossary p. 141, 142) informs us that in Saxon times, in England, the alderman or earl of a county or shire, to enable him to support the dignity of his office, enjoyed certain lands called the *earl's lands*. Is it possible that the expression which heads this article has any reference to this old Anglo-Saxon custom? There is no doubt these lands were known, as early as the time of William De Burgo, Earl of Ulster, by this appellation.

E. G.

Old Engravings.—Among the old Irish topographical engravings I have recently purchased, there are two, to which I am unable to assign the exact locality, and I would be much obliged to any reader who would assist me to do so.

One, evidently not of a later date than the middle of the last century, purports to be "*Ruins of a Danish Castle, near Lough Neagh, in Ireland.*" Of course, *Danish* is a misnomer. The engraving represents two nearly square towers, seemingly at the mouth of a river which runs into the lough. One of the towers stands on the land, the other in the water; the latter has an arch underneath it, as if to afford access and egress by a boat. In the distance to the left are two indistinct edifices, which may represent Shane's Castle, and the round tower on Ram's Island.

The other engraving represents a large, rambling, old-fashioned country house, with stables and farm offices. In the foreground is a garden, in which are a gentleman, two ladies, a boy flying a kite, a girl, and a dog. Beneath is a device representing a ship-wreck, with the motto "*Unhappy Ship,*" and the following words:—"*Blamount a seat in Ireland, in the County of Armagh, one of the retreats in that kingdom of the celebrated Dean Swift. Designed and engraved by A. B. Burdegalensis.*" The visits of Swift to the hospitable mansion of Sir Arthur Acheson, at Market Hill, are well-known matters of literary history. Blamount must be some place in that neighbourhood; and, as it seems

large enough for either a "barrack" or a "malt-house," I hope it may prove to be the Hamilton's Bawn of Swift's humorous poem, "*The Question Debated.*"

W. Pinkerton.

Ancient Brazen Shoe.—In the great exhibition of antiquities, in the Belfast Museum, in 1852, was a shoe of thin copper, or sheet brass, the use of which seemed unknown. It was not a part of armour, nor likely to have been worn in common. May it not be one of the shoes described as put on the foot of the Irish kings at the period of inauguration? The O'Hagans performed this office at Tulloghoge. H. P.

McCart's Fort.—Reading in Benn's *History of Belfast* a description of this place, and the hollow in the centre, called the "punch-bowl," I was induced to propose this query. Are hollows of this kind usual in such forts? During the summer of this year I came by accident on one of these earth-works, near Carn Castle, below Larne, and, having climbed to its summit with some difficulty, had almost fallen into a crater-like excavation in the centre. In fact, the top was like a great basin, whose rim was so narrow as barely to afford me footing. H. P.

The Three Legs of Mann.—I have now before me a plate representing a medal, struck in honour of the consul Marcellus' having offered "*spolia opima*," to Jupiter Feretrius, after overcoming the Gauls and slaying their king. On one side is the head of the conqueror; and, immediately behind the head, the *three legs*, as usually grouped in the arms of the Isle of Mann; but no armour nor spurs are shown. Can you, or any of your readers, explain this device, or mention why it is used in connection with that island? E. G.

Fishing Baskets.—The *Four Masters*, A.D. 1225, describing an incursion of the English, conducted by Hugh O'Conor, into a district of Mayo, state that the baskets of the fishing-weirs were found full of drowned children:—"The baskets were placed for nets in the carrys or fishing-weirs." Are baskets now used in any part of Ireland in this way? My father has often told me, that when he stayed on a visit, as a boy, at Mr. Sitlington's, of White Park, near Ballyclare, (Co. Antrim), the servants, during freshes in the Six-mile-Water, used to place baskets under the weirs, and take quantities of trout. E. G.

River Roe.—In a note to Shaw Mason's *Statistical Survey* he says:—"A curious fragment of an Irish poem is preserved among the mountaineers (of Dungiven, County Derry), respecting the name of this river, deriving it from that of a Saxon heroine."—"The poem contains a propheey that this stream will be more destructive to the lives of men than the largest river in the North."—No doubt the author of the article on "The Sept of the O'Kanes," who seems familiar with everything relating to the district, could obtain a copy of this old poem, or some information respecting it. Such traditionary native legends are curious and valuable. Ollamh Fodhla.

Ballymacarrett (or Ballymagarett, as spelled on some old maps) seems to derive its name from some one of the Geraldines; and is, if this supposition be correct, a name given since the Norman conquest under Henry II. Can any of your readers say who the Garrett (that is Gerald) was who gave name to a townland so closely connected with Belfast?

Fort.—An ancient fort or rath is described as a boundary-point on the municipal limits of Belfast. It is not far from the Roman Catholic seminary, near the "New Burying-Ground." Can any one mention its name or history?

Can I learn from any of your readers at what spot on the Lagan river was the ford called in old documents *Garrifinbrasse?*

Where is the river *Foreglasse*, which rises in a bog of the same name and falls into the Lagan?

Where is the ford of *Belanagrosse*, on the same river (Lagan)? F. P.

UNANSWERED QUERIES.

[We think it right to direct the attention of our Correspondents to the following Queries which remain unanswered]

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OWEN "ROE" O'NEILL.

THE fame and history of OWEN *Roe* O'NEILL, the commander of the native Irish in the severest struggle in the annals of our country, are altogether national. Yet as he was an Ultonian by descent from the ancient kings of our province, and as Ulster was the principal scene of his actions, the writer has thought it not inappropriate to collect the prominent events in the life of this most eminent of the *Hy Neill*, of whom, strangely enough, no monograph has appeared; and although an antiquarian journal is not the aptest medium for developing the general history of a period that was torn by polemic and political divisions, he ventures to offer these passages in the belief that they have been examined and strung together with due archæologic impartiality.

Owen *Roe*, or *Eoghan Ruadh* (the red) O'Neill, was the youngest son of Art *Oge* of Clogher, in Tyrone, natural[a] son of Cormac mac Baron, an illegitimate brother of the great Earl of Tyrone. Cormac died a prisoner in the Tower of London, in 1615.[b] Art had accompanied his uncle, the earl, in his flight in 1607; and, as he was included in the attainder, his sons had no other fortunes than their swords. Owen *Roe* proceeded to Spain at an early age, and appears to have studied in one of the colleges of Salamanca, as there is an entry in the books of the Irish college of that university to the effect that Eugenius *Rufus* O'Neill had been appointed to a serjeantcy of halberdiers, the foot-guards of the Spanish monarch. He seems to have been transferred from this courtly service to the Netherlands army, about the year 1625, and to have already been distinguished; since we find him mentioned in a paper[c] of this date presented to the lords of the council of Spain, "to the end they may know of what Irish they make use of on the King's occasions," and including, among the "auncyent Irish seculars in his majesty's dominions,"—"Dom. John O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, corronell of the Irish in Flanders; Dom. Hugh O'Donnell, Earl of Tyreonnell, page to the Infanta in Flanders;" and "Dom. Eugenius O'Neill, serjeant-major." His high descent, great abilities, and courageous coolness—the first of military qualities—did not obtain him such rapid promotion as would have dispensed with the advantage he had of having risen gradually to the rank of colonel, by a merit so full that in 1640 he was appointed governor of Arras, to defend this important frontier town against a siege from the French. On the 13th June, three marshals of France, at the head of 25,000 foot and 9,000 horse, with a large siege train, sat down before the city. The garrison comprised but 1,500 infantry, and 400 horse, including the Irish regiment com-

[a] Carte, last Oxford edition, ii. 319.

[b] Carew MS. 635.

[c] MS. T.C.D., E. 3, 8.

manded by Colonel O'Neill. His character as an experienced officer must have been well established; for his appointment to defend the town gave satisfaction to the garrison as well as to the citizens, who heartily joined the soldiery in frequent sorties headed by O'Neill during the progress of the enemy's works, which consequently took four-and-twenty days to complete. On the 3d of August he was summoned to surrender, which he bravely refused to do, although the governor-general of Flanders, commanding an army 30,000 strong, had been twice defeated in attempting to raise the siege. The French effected a sufficient breach on the 6th, and were nightly expected to storm: yet O'Neill held out resolutely until the relieving army had suffered a third repulse, and until all hope of succour was gone. Having done all that man could do with the petty garrison at his command against a splendid beleaguering force, he capitulated on the 10th; and marched out the next day, *balle en bouche*, with drums beating and colours flying; and it is declared that his skilful conduct in the defence procured him marked respect from the enemy and gained him a great reputation.[d]

It was probably in those days of O'Neill's continental fame that the portrait, of which we are enabled[e] to give a very successful lithographic copy, was painted by some Flemish master, who certainly rivals Vandyke in delicacy of touch and genius for design. In the young and nobly-descended Irishman the limner has presented a *beau ideal* of patrician manly beauty, and set it off with simple and true graces—exquisitely artistic, whether in the smoothness and strait band of the close tunic under the wavy fur, or in the furry roughness that makes almost as admirable a contrast to the softness and bright colours of the human complexion as nature intended when enduing the face of man with such curly decorations as those Owen *Roe* did not deprive himself of,—or in the plain dark blue bonnet, with its jewel, giving O'Neill the air of a chieftain, and crowning the picture. His features in this portrait agree in most respects with his characteristics; —the width between his eyebrows and his broad forehead, the seat of his large intellect and comprehensive forethought;—his eloquent and passionate eyes, haughty upper lip, and prominent finely-chiselled nose, indicative of his aristocratic spirit and love of glory. But that sensitive mouth has not the masculine severity and compression we should have expected from the character of General O'Neill.

Perhaps our story of his career in Ireland will be rendered more intelligible if it be permitted to reverse custom, and to allow a sketch of his character as well as of other antecedents to precede the narrative portion of this brief biography. Whether he was born an Irishman is not so certain as that his military education was acquired in Flanders. The date of his birth is not known. From the epitaph[f] on his widow at Louvain, it would seem that he was married before 1641, when he came to Ireland. His wife, Rose, sister of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, (whose precipitate insurrection involved Lords Tyrone and Tyrconnell,) must have been considerably his senior, since she is mentioned[g] as having accompanied these earls in their flight, with Caffer O'Donnell, the last named lord's brother, whose wife

[d] Carte, ii 318.

[e] By the kindness of the Rev. James O'Laverty, of Portglenone, who procured the original from its present owner, a lineal descendant of Owen *Roe*.

[f] French's Works.

[g] Four Masters.

she then was. The not over-partial historian, Carte, describes General O'Neill as a man of a clear head and good judgment, sober, moderate, silent, excellent in disguising his sentiments, and well versed in the arts and intrigues of courts. The nobility of his birth and appearance would have admitted him, when a young guardsman, to the palaces of Madrid and Brussels; and, to compare him with a hero of romance, he probably united the foreign polish and politic depth of Fergus Mac Ivor with the natural and graceful manners of an Irishman of rank. That he was scrupulous on all points of politico-military honour will appear in several instances; and that he was sincerely respected by his officers is evident from the journal of his actions in Ireland, a memoir written with sufficient impartiality to be freely quoted.[h] Owen *Roe* combined some of the contrasted characteristics of a Fleming and an Irishman. Undoubtedly he was much the latter in heart and disposition, in part of all the phrase implies; but as he was the former in experience of the camp and of the world, he constantly reverted to the Netherlands prudence, particularly in his strategy and political tactics. How thoroughly he had learnt lessons of forecast and caution in that great school of war is shown by his character as a general, as it is drawn by Carte,—that he was a man of great experience and consummate skill in military affairs, quick in perceiving, and diligent in improving advantages, and infinitely careful to give the enemy no advantage over himself,—carrying this last point to such extremity as to sacrifice to it another military virtue—enterprise. His abandonment of a service in which he was distinguished and honoured, to embark in the Irish cause, leads to a belief that his personal disposition differed essentially from his military habit of mind, and to a high estimate of his patriotic or ambitious views.

Forty years of peace in Ulster had produced a new and numerous generation of swordsmen, the sons of clansmen who had fought for their independence under Tyrone and the heroic Hugh O'Donnell; and during that period, confiscation had so aggravated the misery of their state, that in their minds their thousand wrongs were to be redressed by insurrection however desperate. When "the small black cloud"[i] first rose in the northern political horizon, and before it expanded and overcast England as the thunder-storm of the great rebellion, the viceroy Strafford over-zealously enlisted some thousands of these Roman Catholic swordsmen to fight in the cause of absolutism: and when they were disbanded by his enemy, the "great" Earl of Cork, they were ripe for a rebellion which this rapacious nobleman and his party probably hailed as the prelude to further confiscations. The expatriated *Mac O'Neills*, strong in command of Irish troops in Flanders, and always counting on continental sympathy and assistance, had long sustained their broken clansmen's expectation that they would invade Ulster and head the often-threatened rising against the *Sassanachs* and Puritan Scots who were battening on the ancient estates of the Cinel Eoghain. These British colonists, however, had received their settlement under the guarantee of Great Britain; and the terrible vengeance with which they were visited in 1641, recoiled on the insurgents and all their party

[h] Desid. Cur. Hib., vol. ii. Col. Henry O'Neill's Journal. [i] Clarendon.

with tenfold severity, and was the principal cause of the implacable opposition of Parliament to subsequent Catholic claims. In the beginning of that too-memorable year, Hugh, son of the eldest *Mac an Iarla*, died whilst preparing the invasive expedition. On whom a command ought to devolve that might one day place its holder in a position more supreme than Tyrone himself had aspired to, became an affair of no small debate among the Gaelic officers in Flanders. About this time an enthusiastic and forgetful Irishman wrote to the conspirators from the Eternal city :—"You will prevail if you join together as you ought. Make some chief head among you; but reserve the crown for Con O'Neill."[1] If this was the natural son of old Tyrone, who was educated at Eton by the care of James I.,[2] and who not only does not seem to have entered military service abroad, but was of an indolent disposition,[1] he was quite disqualified to hold the bâton that should so marshal brave but undisciplined clans as to enable them to cope with the generals and armies of Great Britain. As Colonel Roger O'More, whose untiring efforts brought about a rebellion from which he subsequently retired in honourable disgust, sent for Owen *Roe* at this time, it may be conjectured that he deemed him the ablest to command the men of a race whose forefathers had for centuries taken the lead in revolt. Yet, as it was not until almost a year had elapsed from the outbreak that O'Neill arrived in a scene of action to which he was called by his sympathies, his military talent, and his claims, it may be believed he did not assume the heirship of an expectation sanguinely cherished by his seniors among the chiefs of the Clanna Neill—that of recovering their estates—until the success of a competitor already in the field quickened his intentions. This powerful rival, Sir Phelim O'Neill, lord of Kinard, son of a famed insurgent leader, Turlough *oge* of the *Fiodhs (Fews)* or woods of Armagh, was descended legitimately from the great-grandfather of the first earl, and was, therefore, remote from the senior line—a tanistic disqualification he however set aside for himself in his eagerness to become "the great O'Neill." He had seen no obstacle to this hope after the death of the intending invader; and, as the most considerable of his name in Ireland, yet not the most scrupulous, he prematurely set fire to the train of insurrection, on the 23d October, and was speedily leader of many thousand men. His success and novel position so completely turned his weak head that he accounted himself King of Ulster; and, taking the title of "O'Neill," he assumed more than the authority attached of old to the dignity, making, among other fantastic performances, various feudal grants in this formula :—"according to our regal intention."

It is gratifying to know that Owen *Roe* was absent in 1641, and therefore not answerable for the horrors of that year. These enormities have, of course, shared in the exaggerative statements of party. Without the slightest notion of extenuating the sanguinary acts of which Ulster was unhappily the scene, the writer cannot refrain from mentioning his belief that future research will aid past proof of the grossness of the exaggerations regarding these acts on the part of the Irish—exaggerations that still stigmatize our countrymen in a most undeserved degree. Whether these pages

[1] Moore's Hist. of Ireland. [2] Pell Records. [1] The Confed. of Kilkenny. By the Rev. C. P. Meehan

form a fit ledger for striking a balance of the bloody account in that civil war between Teuton and Gael, is a question; yet, as two ages have passed by, the writer may, perhaps, one day turn to the task of severing from the facts of that period some fables which none can wish should attach to it.

The insurrection soon yielded to the common law of unorganised movements, in which every accession of a leader was the introduction of a separate object and opinion. The ferocious Sir Phelim, having proved unsuccessful in his martial undertakings, dropped his assumed title; and he and other Ultonian chiefs were on the point of flying the country before the Scottish forces, when their hopes were revived by the arrival of Owen *Roe* O'Neill, who had relinquished his command in the Spanish army at his country's call, for which he was warmly commended by the Pope, and landed at Castledoe, about the middle of July, 1642, with a few Low Country officers and soldiers of his regiment, and some munitions; the charges of the expedition being defrayed by his Holiness. The Ulster leaders received Owen *Roe* with the respect his birth, mission, and military skill entitled him to; and elected him their commander-in-chief, but did not declare him "O'Neill."[a] Although he never assumed this title, the subsequent dissensions between himself and Sir Phelim were entirely on the question of chieftaincy; and there is no doubt that the tanistic emulation of the lord of Kinard and other relatives of Owen *Roe* O'Neill is the reason why this accomplished general effected comparatively so little.

The first acts of the soldier-chief marked his detestation of the barbarities his countrymen, under "O'Neill," had committed on the British colonists; for he plainly told the lord of Kinard that he deserved to be treated in the same manner, sent the few prisoners that were left of them safe to Dundalk, and burned down many of the houses of the murderers around Kinard, declaring with a warmth unusual to him that he would join with the English rather than not burn the rest. From respect, doubtless, to these proofs of manly feeling, and from a wish to detach an officer from the Irish cause whose abilities and guidance would materially influence the success of the coming struggle, the great Scottish general, Lord Leven, on his arrival with additional forces for Monro's army, addressed a friendly letter to Colonel O'Neill, expressing sorrow "that a person of his experience and reputation abroad should come to Ireland to support so bad a cause," and earnestly advising him to return to service in Flanders. O'Neill replied that he had more reason to come to relieve the deplorable state of his country than his lordship had to march into England at the head of an army against his king. Leven evidently foresaw that a representative of the renowned Tyrone, whose military proficiency had been acquired on the battle-field of Europe, would prove a formidable general of the Irish, and, on parting from Monro, warned him that the colonel-chief, whenever he should succeed in getting an army together, would assuredly worst him.[b]

In accordance with a resolution of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, passed in May, 1642, "a

[a] Carte, i 326. Moore says he was elected O'Neill; but Carte has stated the contrary. [b] Col Henry O'Neill's Journal.

General Assembly of Confederates" met at Kilkenny, a year and a day after the outbreak.[n] They passed resolutions to maintain the rights of their church, adopted the common law of England and the Irish statute law, confirmed the authority of the king, but declared against his government in Ireland, and, assuming all authority, devolved the executive on a Supreme Council. If these steps ought to have been taken at all, they should have preceded the taking up of arms, to which they would have given national unison, dignity, and direction. Yet even at this time of experience, the Council, instead of organising an army that might at least have seized the almost defenceless metropolis, may be said to have resuscitated the primeval quadripartition of Erin, in having established four commanders-in-chief, one in each province. A diffused and desultory war of conquest was then kept up against the British settlers and garrisons, with little more than exasperating results. Owen *Roe* was appointed to the command in the North. Far less popular than the lord of Kinard, and little provided with munitions, it was long ere he could assemble a force sufficient to take the field. Half-a-thousand men were not with him in the ensuing spring, when Monro surprised him. Riding out to hunt one May morning, whilst in quarters at Anaghsawry, near Charlemont, he was startled by the sight of a large Scottish force, and that within four miles of his post, which the foe had approached by night marches, and expected to surprise. The hunt turned to a chase, in which the Flemish colonel was pursued to his own quarters, where he turned at bay, and, with his "small party of 400 men, received the enemy with so much bravery and experience of a knowing soldier" that he brought his men off without loss, after a warm skirmish on the road to Charlemont, during which Monro himself alighted, and, seizing a pike to rally his troops, for they had given back, was heard to exclaim:—"Fy! fy! run awa frae a wheen rebels?"[o] A second night-attempt to beat up his quarters, and the frequent incursions of the Scots into the heart of Ulster, forced him to withdraw with his *creaghts*, or warlike herdsmen, and their cattle, guarded by some 1,600 men, into the fastnesses of Fermanagh. The appearance which his followers presented corresponded with the wild scenes around Sliabh Bagh. His cavalry were a few country gentry, and a couple of troops of raw horsemen. Of his infantry, a frieze rug, skewered in front, and two brogues, were the uniform; and either a sword strung to the waist by a withy, or a firelock, of which the holder was proud and careful, the armament.[p] All this formed a phase in warfare the *tapissiers* of Arras would not have delighted to infigure, and would have appeared inglorious to a general who had served under imperial banners, had not the cause for which he had taken up arms hallowed the means in his eyes. Whilst on the march, he was intercepted at Clones by a superior force of Scots and Enniskilleners, and, on drawing up to reconnoitre, a rush was made by their horse to seize him, the troopers shouting as they galloped up:—"Whar's Mac Art? Whar's Mac Art?"—meaning Owen *Roe Mac Art*. Shooting the captain by whom the onset was led, O'Neill rejoined the main body; but was so routed that he fled back, hotly pursued, to Charlemont. Soon afterwards, receiving urgent letters from the

[n] Col. Henry O'Neill's Journal. [p] Meehan's Confed. p. 119.

Council to muster all the force he could, and to enter Meath, he got together 3,000 men, and, joining Sir James Dillon, proceeded to dispossess all Protestants of their strongholds. Although a year's cessation of hostilities was soon after proclaimed, Lord Moore, then in command of an English force of some 4,500 men, declared he would not observe the truce until he "had tried the mettle of Owen *Roe*, and his Ulster *creaghts*;"—a challenge the Gaelic chieftain answered by attacking a castle held by a garrison under his lordship, who instantly marched against him. The Irish general placed his artillery and troops so advantageously as to maintain his position, and a chance cannon-shot having killed Lord Moore, the enemy withdrew. The fall of the Protestant peer was pleasantly commemorated by some Douay camp-chaplain in an epigram not deficient in punning wit:—

"Contra Romanos mores, res mira, Dynasta
Morus ab Eugenio *canonizatus* erat."

O'Neill's subsequent strict observation of the truce, in times when, owing to the faint acknowledgment of the various authorities, and to the provocations of the enemy, this virtue was rare, is remarkably exhibited in the fact that he refused to take advantage of an offer to betray Enniskillen to him, although large preys had been carried off from the Irish by the less scrupulous garrison. Hitherto his services were unproductive in his own province. In November, 1643, the Scottish force being so great as to alarm the General Assembly, they sent for Owen *Roe*, whose loyalty and prudence on this occasion saved them from an insane proceeding. A resolution had passed the assembly that some of the king's forts should be pawned to a foreign power for money to carry on the war. This mad proposition, however, was rescinded when General O'Neill, in an eloquent remonstrance, showed how dangerous such unparalleled treason would be both to the king and the nation; and, he concluded by saying, in the true spirit of patriotism, that the Catholics of Ireland then in arms were no mercenary soldiers, and might well be content, while fighting the battles of their country, with such food and clothing as she could give them. Such had been the successes of the Scots that O'Neill declared unless aid were sent him, he and his *creaghts* would be driven to proceed into other provinces for their subsistence. This threatened alternative,[9] and the still greater dread of hostilities from Monro, produced an agreement that 6,000 foot and 600 horse should be despatched into Ulster. It was then mooted whether these auxiliaries should be under the orders of the provincial general, or of his powerful rival Preston, who aspired to the command. Sir Phelim had married a daughter of this officer, and his party were able to allege that Owen *Roe* had accomplished nothing in the North—a failure manifestly almost as much owing to the defection of the Kinard faction as to the strength of the enemy. Yet as the loyalty of Preston, who was general of Leinster, and martially represented the old Catholic English of the province, approximated to that of Viceroy Ormond, his pretensions were distasteful to the majority, which moreover was Gaelic. But the Momonians would no more serve under an Ultonian than would Lagenians. As Secretary

[9] Castlehaven's Memoirs, p. 46.

Belling observed:—"that antient and everlasting difference between Leath-Conn and Leath-Mogha—the north and south of Ireland—prevailed more than General O'Neill's abilities and capacity to undertake a charge for which, in the judgment of all, he apparently merited to be preferred beyond his competitor." Again, while Preston was loyal, for which the king created him Viscount Tara, his rival was so ambitious that "apprehensions were entertained of putting such great power into the hands" of one who might already have dreamed of becoming King of Tara. Nothing less than this romantic title and the restoration of the pentarchy would have pleased, not satisfied, men who in the seventeenth century seriously imagined they could hold Ireland; and believed this, although their factions had increased in arithmetic progression since the old division of the island between Conn of the Hundred Battles and King Mogh. Disagreeing as to giving the command to a native, they conferred it on a foreigner, the excellent Lord Castlehaven. O'Neill tried to forgive this extreme slight; but nothing was accomplished by either of the commanders, "thro'" wrote his lordship, "the failing, or something else, of General Owen *Roe* O'Neill." In an action near Portlester, one of Castlehaven's officers, Lieutenant Colonel Fennell, having stood inactively by whilst some of O'Neill's relatives were attacked and cut down, and wearing, as well as showing, a white feather, Owen *Roe* at once branded him as "a cowardly cock." Certainly the two generals did not add to the few examples of concord between persons of equal authority in arms on the same service. Besides this want of unanimity, the old rival pretensions[r] between Owen *Roe* and Sir Phelim had likewise their paralyzing effect. It was not until the nuncio Rinuccini effected a reconciliation between the kinsmen, and gave a large command to O'Neill, that his abilities became conspicuous. Having organised a levy of 5,000 foot and 500 horse, in the spring of 1646, he drew them up on the 5th June, on the advance of Monro at the head of 6,000 infantry and 800 well-accoutred horse, in a strong envallied position near Benburb. His right was protected by the river, his left by a marsh, and his rear by a wood; and he concealed his sharp shooters in the "scrogs and bushes" of the hills. "All our army," wrote Monro, "did earnestly covet fighting, which it was impossible for me to gainstand without reproach." The Scots advanced to dislodge the enemy, but were checked by a shower of bullets from the braes; and the fire of their artillery was ineffectual, owing to the covered position of the Irish, who lost but one man by cannon shot. Skirmishing and cannonading continued for four hours; and the smoke, clouding the valley, concealed the hostile ranks from each other. The Irish main body was drawn up at some distance, and O'Neill, secure in his position, kept the enemy in check by skirmishes and the fire from his well-posted musketry, waiting till an expected reinforcement should arrive, and until the descending sun should dazzle the eyes of the enemy. When the reinforcement came up, it was at first mistaken by Monro for an expected accession to his own army, and, on discovering his mistake, and seeing that the sun was now throwing its glare on the faces of his men, he prudently ordered a retreat. Instantly that this movement was observed, O'Neill,

[r] Confederation of Kilkenny, pp. 117, 139, 141.

addressing his troops in brief words, assured them of victory :—"I myself," said he, "with the aid of Heaven, will lead the way. Let those who fail to follow remember that they abandon their chieftain." He then gave the word to advance, ordering his men to reserve their fire until within pike's length. They rushed forward "con ferocia incredibile." The Scots cavalry, placed to cover the retreat, received the irresistible charge, and being presently routed, plunged through the ranks of their own infantry, who were thus thrown into utter confusion. Yet the foot stood their ground for some time; and the field must have been well contested, if it was on it, as asserted, that 3,243 bodies were counted.[s] Very few of these had fought on the side of the brave victors. "The rout," wrote Colonel Henry O'Neill, "began two hours before night; thirty-seven of ours slain, 245 wounded, and 4,000 of the enemy killed *on the spot*." This is improbable. It was after the rout that the execution was most terrible. There were few prisoners, and Sir Phelim boasted he had given no quarter. The defeat of Benburb is the fullest of any sustained by the British in Ireland. "L'arme di Vostra Santita," wrote the Nuncio, "hanno attenuto in Ultonia la strage quasi di tutto l'esercito Puritano," &c.[t] O'Neill's force soon increased to upwards of 10,000 men, and his banner, "the bloody hand" of the Cinel Eoghain, was surcharged with cross and keys, and he called his troops "the Catholic Army." It was observed of Tyrone, after he had won the battle of Blackwater, that, as had been the universal voice in Rome of Hannibal, he knew how to gain a victory, but not how to use it;—and "the Irish Fabius," as O'Neill has been styled, was so tardy in following up his brilliant success as to lose its fruits. He was preparing to fall upon the remains of Monro's army, when orders came from Rinuccini that arrested his march. A treaty of peace had been pending between Ormond and the Confederates, by which the Irish were to be released from taking the oath of supremacy, with a promise of free exercise of their religion. But the Nuncio had protested against its conclusion without consent from Rome, and had urged the Confederates to place themselves under the protection of some foreign power, which he declared ought to be the Pope. This foreign power was almost powerless, save in spiritualities; and the Supreme Council, totally rejecting the strange proposal, ratified the treaty. The Italian, strong in a peculiar *ultima ratio*, had drawn up an excommunication against all who would observe the peace, and had forwarded a copy in Gaelic to General O'Neill, that it might be read to his army; and further desired this victorious leader to turn his arms against the Catholic government. Malcontent with the convention, since it did not contain a proviso for the restoration of the family estates, Owen *Roe* marched with his whole force, amounting to 12,800 men, to depose the governing power, vowing to sack Kilkenny, and to be revenged on the loyalists of the Council, by whom he believed the proviso had been omitted. These threats were rather in the tone of a hot Gaelic conqueror than of a prudent Fleming. Whilst on the road, he received £4,500, and a supply of gunpowder from the Italian, who, meeting the army under the

[s] Meehan, pp. 117, 139, 141. [t] Rinuccini's Memoirs.

walls of Kilkenny, dissuaded Owen *Roe* from his fieree purpose, but eoneerted that the laity should be deposed from the council, and that hierarchy should be substituted. The Archbishop of Fermo made his public entry into the city of St. Canice on the 18th of September, and was proclaimed *Generalissimo*. The devoted ecclesiastic had, of course, no other personal views than to be made a cardinal. O'Neill, however, flushed with the pride of an astounding victory, now conceived hope of becoming, by the Nuncio's aid, "King of Ireland." In ascribing this exorbitancy of ambition to him, on the authority of the Rev. Dr. O'Conor, the investigating and patriotic librarian of Stowe, we must, at the same time, express our belief that General O'Neill had too much good sense to indulge more than a dreamy expectation that future successes might make him military dictator. The deference the Nuncio paid the Catholie Cromwell, the deposer of the Irish provisional government, is shown by his submissive conduct in an affair that occurred at this eritical period. Whilst quartered in Kilkenny, O'Neill's wild *creaghts*, (the etymon of whose appellation is probably the root of *creagh*, or foray,) having richly deserved the reprobation of the Nuncio, had resented his censures by breaking his windows, pelting his servants, and insisting on the destruction of his state-coach. The outraged archbishop complained to Rome of the ultramontane barbarians, declaring no Tartars ever committed worse ravages than Owen *Roe's* soldiers: but when a copy of the despatch was forwarded thence to their leader, he prevailed on the writer to send a retractation, and a seeond letter extolled O'Neill and his army as the only true Catholics in Ireland.[u]

O'Neill had been favourable to the peace on the first news, before he heard from Rinuccini, a fact manifesting that his ulterior conduct was rather the effect of suggestion than spontaneity. Indeed the terms of the treaty were sufficient for the times, and none but the immoderate party rejected them. The state of the several parties at this period is too complicated to describe. The Confederates, however, may be said to have been divided into the old Englishry, who only sought toleration, and the Gael, who would not be content with less than the enjoyment of a free and public use and exercise of their religion. The former party, especially attached to the crown, had suffered little from confiscation, while much of the lands of the latter had become the estates of British adventurers. To recover these lost means of living was the object of the Gaelic laity; and to restore churches and monasteries to clerics the design of all the hierarchy. But the Anglo-Irish country gentlemen had neither joint-interest nor hope to lead them to combine with their Celtic brethren for these objects. Nor did the more loyal of their number contemplate pressing the perplexed claims of the priesthood to the repossession of churches where the population was more or less mixed. And when the efforts of Rinuccini and the army of Owen *Roe* gave temporal authority to men who had often been shielded by the nobility and gentry they displaced, the highest party abandoned a cause on the conduct of which the comment of the Pontiff himself to the Nuncio—"You have acted most

[u] O'Conor's Historical View.

rashly"—is the best.[v] Few will dissent from the opinion that the full freedom asked by the Gael is reasonable according to modern righteous custom. Yet the demand appeared highly objectionable to all who were actuated by such a spirit of intolerance as caused the Irish, when in martial ascendancy, to prohibit the exercise of the Protestant religion within their quarters.[w] Even the Englishry, instead of enrolling themselves on the side of the king, and entitling themselves by their undoubted loyal service to respect and favour, took advantage of his distresses to urge demands for the freedom they also denied his other subjects. Owen *Roe*, as "the right arm of the Nuncio," was leader of the extreme party in Gaelic and other prejudices. Happily the traditional loyalty of Lord Muskerry, and the jealousy of other chieftains, prevented the increase of O'Neill's army at a time he would have made an ill and vain use of his power. If the brilliant vision of dictatorship occupied his mind when Ormond, at this time, offered him the *custodium* of such lands as any of the O'Neills might forfeit by violating the peace, with some other matters that had formerly been the subject of correspondence between them in the endeavour to effect a juncture—the carelessness with which he declined these trifling considerations may be imagined. The Viceroy, rather than Dublin should fall into the hands of a foreign influenced and assisted party, invoked the aid of the Parliamentarians. O'Neill now formed a design to seize the lord lieutenant, and, subsequently, to capture the metropolis. When Lord Castlehaven's loyalty had prevented the success of the first object, O'Neill and Preston marched their two armies eastward to lay siege to Dublin. The city was not tenable. The entrenchments that should have defended the suburbs were incomplete; and the Marchioness of Ormond, with some ladies of the first quality, had to set an example, by carrying baskets of earth to the ramparts. Still the city, being unvictualled, must have surrendered, had not each of the beleaguering generals been more intent on guarding against an attack from the other than on carrying on the siege. They decamped on the news that parliamentary forces had landed.

On the 10th of January, 1647, a new General Assembly met at Kilkenny. This self-constituted parliament fruitlessly endeavoured to procure a peace, for the Nuncio would not lower his terms. O'Neill was appointed commander-in-chief of the Connaught as well as the Ulster forces. Ormond quitted the country—a necessity the blame of which was not unjustly thrown upon Owen *Roe* by the royalist Catholics. Their general was soon defeated by the parliamentarian Jones, who was daily expected to march upon Kilkenny. The only hope of the Assembly now lay in O'Neill, who, at the head of 12,000 men, hurried into Leinster, and chased Jones back to Dublin. This marked success again raised his expectations, which, with his pretensions with regard to the power of "the great O'Neill"—the magic name so fatal to many a chieftain of his race—together with his haughtiness, were so vast as to cause great discontentment. The jealousies of the highest men were increased when the Jesuit O'Mahony published a book in which he exhorted the Irish to elect a native king, and by the arrival of an epistle from the Pontiff to General O'Neill, praising him for his devotion to the Roman

[v] Ibid. [w] D. C. Hil. ii. 151.

Catholic cause, an extraordinary mark of favour, and accompanied by the sword of the great Tyrone, the trenchant blade of which his Holiness himself had blessed. Such signs of supernal favour were held to be as significant as the crown, formed of the feathers of a phœnix, once sent from Rome to the Earl of Tyrone, and, being coincident with the appearance of O'Mahony's book, caused an outcry.[y] Owen *Roe* was to be king; the book was a plea for his future sovereignty, and that sword would be his sceptre! In this clamour the independent Gaelic chiefs joined so cordially with the feudal Anglo-Irish, that O'Neill must have been convinced, if he ever entertained the idea of which our doubts have already been expressed, how hopeless it was to expect to construct a durable government out of materials so antagonistic as the Catholics of Ireland then presented.

The last assembly of the Confederates opened on the 20th of April, 1648. Lord Inchiquin unexpectedly declared in favour of the king, and proposed an armistice to the Catholics. The treaty proceeded, in defiance of the Nuncio and eight bishops, and, when concluded, was the famous "Inchiquin's peace,"—subsequent proved failures of the observance of which were among the touchstones whereby many estates were not taken from Cromwellians and restored to ruined native inheritors. Rinuccini fled from Kilkenny to the camp of O'Neill. Preston and Inchiquin united their forces to march against Owen *Roe*, in order to compel him to join in this much-required cessation. The Nuncio thundered an excommunication against all who should observe the peace. O'Neill retreated into the north, and was proclaimed a traitor by the Catholic government. On hearing the news, he marched rapidly into the south, with the intention of surprising Kilkenny, his friends having promised to betray the city to him; but, being disappointed, he exhibited an unworthy resentment towards the president of the supreme council, Lord Mountgarrett, in wasting that nobleman's estates. Penetrating Lord Inchiquin's country, he took one or two places in the west; but was overmatched while occupying the Pass of Bealaghnoun, and compelled to escape, leaving his camp in the enemy's hands. The indefatigable and illustrious Ormond returned to Ireland, and succeeded in concluding a peace on the 17th January, 1648. Soon afterwards, the Italian archbishop quitted the kingdom. After the murder of the king, O'Neill, though deserted by many of his superior officers, (who, as they possessed estates, thought more of preserving them than of winning the lands of others,) was still in command of some 5,300 veterans. He forwarded his submission to Charles II., when this prince was expected in Ireland, offering his services on certain terms, which included his advancement to an earldom. In the meanwhile, Lord Castlehaven was unfortunately employed by the lord lieutenant to reduce the Irish general's garrisons in Athy and Maryborough. Provoked by these attacks from the sword of an old enemy, and foreseeing that his men would suffer extreme hardships, O'Neill—having already, and that with the Nuncio's approbation, concluded certain articles with the republicans Jones and Monk—whose interest it was that he should continue in sufficient

[y] Meehan.

force to cause a diversion to the royalists, made overtures for an alliance with Monk, by which his party and their issue were to enjoy the exercise of their religion, a competent command was to be given to himself, an act of oblivion was to be passed by the parliament, the lands that his party possessed prior to 1641 were to be restored, and he was to be put in possession of his ancestors' estates. These proposals of the Irish general were submitted to the great leaders in London, but were kept private, and Monk received secret instructions to come to terms with an officer who might prove either serviceable or formidable. The replies of his agent, O'Reilly, to questions put to him in Westminster, were candid and truthful. When asked why O'Neill had not treated with Ormond, he answered:—"Because the late king had made the Irish Catholics fair promises, but when they had done him service he was always ready to sacrifice them." To the question, why did they not apply sooner to the parliament? he replied:—"Because the men then in power had sworn to extirpate them; while those now in power propose toleration and liberty of conscience."[z] In the meantime O'Neill did good service to the parliament in intercepting communication between the Scots in the north and the central army under Ormond, and he relieved Sir Charles Coote, then besieged in Derry, accepting for this succour some 2,000 cows, to furnish food for his famishing men. The transaction between Monk and O'Neill gave extreme umbrage in England, and the agreement was disavowed by parliament. Ormond at this time renewed his offers, which were now more acceptable to the isolated general. So correctly scrupulous was O'Neill, that he declined to treat with the envoy whilst continuing in Sir C. Coote's quarters. When another messenger, the good Colonel Daniel O'Neill, was hurried to Derry, he found his uncle determined to agree with the lord lieutenant, and entertaining hope of joining him with a considerable force.[a] Assembling his officers, General O'Neill said to them:—"To demonstrate that I value the service of my king and the welfare of my nation, as I always did, I now forget and forgive the Supreme Council and all my enemies their ill practices, and all the wrongs they did me from time to time, and will now embrace that peace I formerly rejected out of good intent." He then marched from Londonderry to join Ormond in opposing Cromwell. But it was not permitted to the best general the Island of Destiny had produced to strike a single blow for the royal cause. His march was retarded in the beginning of September, when he was suffering from so severe a pain and defluxion in his knee that he could neither rise nor endure a horse-litter. This attack, wrote the suggestive Carte, was not imputed to the sumptuous entertainments given by Sir C. Coote to General O'Neill, in Derry, but to "a poisoned pair of russet leather boots," sent him as a present by one Plunket, who is said to have afterwards boasted of the act.[b] Such a vaunt is as unlikely to have been made as that poison could be conveyed into the human frame by such a medium. This illness delayed his progress and the signing of the agreement, much to the disappointment of Ormond, who, as his biographer states, had always used great frank-

[z] Clarendon. 85, 136. [a] Carte. [b] Desid. C. Hib.

ness with O'Neill, and had a very high opinion, as well of his honour, constancy, and good sense, as of his military skill, which promised more advantage to the king's service than even the force he commanded. The treaty was perfected on the 12th October, but O'Neill did not live to perform the services expected from him. He died in Cloughoughter Castle, in the county of Cavan, on the 6th November, 1649. His remains were interred in the Franciscan Friary of Cavan.

"Sagest in the council was he, kindest in the hall!
Sure we never won a battle—'twas Eoghan won them all.
Soft as woman's was your voice, O'Neill! bright was your eye,
Oh! why did you leave us, Eoghan? why did you die?"

These touching verses from the nervous pen of a patriot poet are quoted as faithful to the interesting traits of the character of a man in whom feminine sensibility was combined with martial coolness, and an uncommon military prudence. It is a high gratification to be able to say that, although O'Neill was leader of the wildest body of men in Ireland, factious historians have not fastened on him any of the reproaches for cruelty they lavished on other Irish commanders of that sanguinary period. Certainly his troops deserved their ill name; and therefore the freedom of their commander from personal blame proves that they alone were in fault, and, as well, the extreme difficulty of his position. Indeed, viewing the entire story of this very remarkable Irishman, which we have endeavoured to examine without prepossessions, there can be little doubt that whenever full justice is done to the theme, his conduct, under excessively difficult circumstances, will bear an ordeal of investigation that must redound highly to his honour. Though his character exhibited strong contrarieties, it has not been very variously estimated, and his praises predominate. The puritan, Borlase, wrote far from unfavourably when describing him as a man of a haughty and positive humour, and rather hard to be inclined to reasonable conditions than easy to decline them or break his word when he had consented. Referring back to the passages of his life, it will be accorded that, though the blood of Gaelic kings warmed his veins, he, in almost every instance, exercised a religious control over an impassioned temperament. His strong and natural desire to recover the estate of his forefathers must be placed in the category of faults, of which it seems to have been the main spring, for he had inherited nothing but the pride and ambition of the Hy Niall. This motive, and his generous sympathies, blinded him to a truth now obvious to all, but then less apparent to any, that the Irish Gael, reduced by the combined power of the Scots and English, could not hope with reason to raise themselves during even a civil war of these nations.

The varying characteristics of O'Neill's mind had led him to embrace such a variety of sides that, at different periods, he encountered most of the leaders of the many conflicting parties in Ireland. First he fought the Scots; next the Enniskilleners; then the English under Lord Moore; again after his victory at Benburb and his deposition of the Catholic Council, he besieged the Viceroy, joined

the Parliamentarians, fought against the loyal Preston and the illustriously loyal Clanricard, and against the Catholic lords, Dillon and Taaffe, routing the latter without much slaughter, for he "abhorred to spill his countrymen's blood if he could avoid it." Lastly, but too late, he joined Ormond. It is manifest from his many overtures that O'Neill was constantly ready to join the royalists; and, also, that he was only prevented by their over-stiffness in regard to his claims. The victor of Benburb is acknowledged to have been the ablest general of his time in Ireland. Had fate spared him, Ormond and he might have rallied round their standards thousands of those brave men who, in Clonmel and Drogheda, and other heroically defended places, were crushed in separate bands by Cromwell. The Viceroy and Owen *Roe*, commanding all the loyal in Ireland, with their knowledge of the country, and the Fabian strategy of General O'Neill, who possessed the genius of his chieftain ancestors for defensive war, might have filled a bright page in the history of that divided and most calamitous period, by fighting perhaps more than one glorious battle against the regicide Usurper.

There is every reason to believe that the portrait of Owen *Roe* O'Neill, from which our lithograph is faithfully copied on a reduced scale, is genuine. It is an oil painting on wood, and measures about 16 in. by 12 in. On the back is written, in characters now much obliterated,—"*Owen Roe O'Neill at the court of* * * * * *by the celebrated Dutch artist, Van Brugens.*" This writing is older than the memory of the present owner, a lady now far advanced in years. The painting is traditionally known by all the branches of her family as the portrait of Owen *Roe*, and highly valued as such. The late Roman Catholic Bishop of Derry offered £50 for it, which was declined. It is very improbable that a member of an Irish family of moderate circumstance would have had a portrait painted by an expensive foreign artist.—The execution of the painting is admirable. The colour of the hair, which gave to Owen O'Neill his distinguishing epithet of *Roe* (but which could not be shown in our lithograph) is not decidedly red, but only approaching to it. The tinge of redness, however, is quite sufficient to have distinguished him amongst a number of dark-haired men; and the complexion is clear and ruddy. It is worthy of remark that the characteristic features of the face may still be traced in various members of the family to whom the portrait belongs.—Ed.

SAINT PATRICK'S PURGATORY.

BY WILLIAM PINKERTON.

"Di, quibus imperium est animorum umbræque silentes,
Et Chaos et Phlegethon, loca nocte tacentia late,
Sit mihi fas audita loqui; sit numine vestra
Pandere res alta terræ et caligine mersas."—*Virgil.*

INTRODUCTORY.

Pre-eminently above all the pious legendary beliefs of the mediæval period, three, in particular, attained a universal popularity among the people of Christendom; and even now, when their contemporary legends are buried in well-merited oblivion, leaving scarcely a trace behind, these three still exhibit unmistakeable proofs of their ancient influence. The world-enduring wanderings of that most unfortunate of shoemakers, Isaac Lakedem; the existence of a great kingdom, in the far east, governed by a mighty Christian potentate and descendant of Melchisedec, named Prester John, and the Purgatory of Ireland's patron saint, were for centuries the great topics of serious converse. In court and cloister, homestead and hut, on weary pilgrimage and tedious night-watch, princes, paladins, prelates, pilgrims, and peasants, related, or listened to these legends with wonder, awe, and simple though devout credence. The two former, however, were never so popular nor so fearfully-interesting as the third. The *Wandering Jew*, wild as the legend was, appeared too seldom, (and then in the society only of monarchs and ecclesiastics of rank) to make a very strong popular impression. In our degenerate days of little faith, indeed, he affects the society of the humbler classes in the more Bœotian districts of England; but, having become addicted to ale and tobacco, instead of introducing himself to the courts of princes and houses of prelates, he is introduced by others to courts of petty sessions, and houses of correction, where, under the denomination of a rogue and vagabond, his wanderings are generally restricted, at least for a period. The country of *Prester John* was too distant from European lands, rejoicing in the tutelage of the "Seven Champions," to render its rule and politics a theme of general interest: so distant indeed, that though the letters written by Johannes Presbyter to Louis XII. of France, and Pope Julius II. are still extant—though—as the heralds phrase it—"a Prester John, *proper*, sitting upon a tombstone," adorns the episcopal seal of the See of Chester,—modern geographers and travellers have not yet discovered the exact locality of his kingdom. But the *Purgatory of St. Patrick*, situated within an easy distance of the people of Christian nations, containing those awful mysteries to unravel which has at all times

been the desire of mankind—offering to the living man, pious and bold enough to accept the boon, (on condition of a short visit of twenty-four hours,) a complete immunity from the punishments of sin, otherwise unattainable but by ages of torment after death—was the grand mediæval wonder and glory of the Christian world. Though Ireland had the fame of possessing such a place, the renown was not merely local—all Christendom were partakers in it as well. The renown of St. Patrick's Purgatory resembled that acquired by a famous battle-field, on which the combined nations of Europe had fought and conquered; for each nation could speak of it with pride and exultation, each having furnished heroes for the adventure—that perilous adventure, surpassing mere mortal strife, in which men encountered demons in the dread shades of the infernal regions. Whatever Ireland may have been famous for, at any period of its history, there can be no doubt that it never was so famous for anything as it was at one time for St. Patrick's Purgatory. As this mysterious place has still a 'local habitation and a name' in the very province from which this Journal takes its title, a notice of it seems peculiarly appropriate to these pages. For my own part, I can only regret that the task has not fallen into more competent hands: at the same time, I wish the reader distinctly to understand that the present is simply an archæological paper, compiled from various manuscript and printed sources, and avoiding the slightest approach to polemical controversy. To Mr. Edmund Getty, of Belfast, I must gratefully acknowledge his able and kind assistance; and I have also been indebted to Mr. Wright's essay on the Legends of Purgatory current during the Middle Ages, for interesting matter relating to that part of the subject.

A traveller to a distant and unknown land anxiously inquires and speculates respecting the nature of the country to which he is directing his footsteps: we need not be surprised, therefore, to find that, in all ages, whether stimulated by a fearful curiosity or inspired by a higher feeling specially implanted in the human breast, men, as they travelled along the great high-way of life, have ever felt a strong desire to penetrate the mysteries of the region to which they were hastening—the secrets of the dread world lying beyond the tomb. From a very early period there seems to have been a prevailing idea that 'the other world' (to use a common but expressive phrase) was situated in the interior of this earth; that there were several known passages leading directly into it; and that men, possessing sufficient courage and virtue, could in their life-time explore its hidden mysteries, and, on returning to earth, could relate the wonders they had heard and seen. The classical writers speak of several entrances to these inferior regions: one at the Acherusian marshes, near the cave of the Cumæan Sybil; another at Heraniome in the Peloponesus; another at Heraclea in Bithynia, by which Pluto carried off Proserpine, and Hercules went in search of Cerberus. By these passages, Theseus descended inspired by vengeance, Pollux by friendship, Orpheus by conjugal and Æneas by filial love. Like the rude block of marble, which the sculptor endows with the beauty and dignity of art, the Shades of the ancient poets seem to have been no more than a subject for developing their creative fancies and poetical ideas. That they ever were a fixed principle of religious belief we may reason-

ably doubt, as each poet depicted them according to his fancy, though adhering to the mythology of his period. Yet long after that mythology had passed away, the cosmographical idea remained; and that there were places of punishment, purgation, and happiness for departed spirits, in the interior of the earth, as described by Virgil, became a scientific as well as a theological belief.

In the *Stimulus Conscientiæ*,[a] an English theological poem of the fourteenth, or earlier part of the fifteenth century, ascribed by Warton to Richard Hampole, the writer says:—

"The stede[b] that Purgatory is callde
Under the erthe is, as I halde,
Aboven the stede as som clerkes[c] telles,
Where uncrysom childer dwelles
That fro the sighte of Goddes face
Are parted for ever withouten grace.
That place is nyghest above hell pit,
Between Purgatory and itt.
Thus stands the stede of Purgatory.
Aboven that is the fourth stede,
That Crist visited when he was dede,
And them that war ther out took,
And left nane thar yn, als says the buke:[d]
And y' stede clerkes call *limbus patrum*.
All these four stedes men may helle calle
For they are closed in the erthe alle."

In a work,[e] published no earlier than the last century, under the authority of two doctors in theology of the faculty of Paris, and written by a Franciscan and bachelor of theology, we are informed that the lowest part of the universe is the centre of the earth, and that in this point is the abyss of Hell. The "Empyreal Heaven," the dwelling-place of the Divinity, is at the highest part of the circular universe; "Purgatory" is between Heaven and Hell; and the "Limbo of little children"

[a] There are several MSS. of this poem. The one I have seen is in the Cottonian collection.—*Galba* E. ix. 13.

[b] *Stede*, Anglo-Saxon, *place*. We still use it in the phrase "in stead."

[c] Virgil most certainly was one of those "clerkes:"—
"Continuo audituæ voces, vagitus et ingens,
Infantumque animæ flentes in limine primo
Quos dulcis vitæ exsortes, et ab ubere raptos,
Abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo."
Æneid vi.

[d] The "buke" here referred to, is, in all probability, the Apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus the Disciple*, once very popular in England; Erasmus saw it, chained to a reading-desk for the use of the people, in Canterbury cathedral. There can be no doubt that it was written as early as the third century; and though six chapters of it are taken up with the subject alluded to above by the poet, yet Purgatory is never mentioned. These six chapters are very curious, and, as they explain a multitude of pious legends, miracle-plays, paintings, &c., of the mediæval period, that otherwise are incomprehensible, I transcribe their headings here:—"*A great light in Hell. Simon arrives and announces the coming of Christ. Quarrel between Satan and the prince of hell, concerning the expected arrival of Christ. Christ's arrival at Hell gates, the confusion thereupon. He descends into Hell. Death and the Devil in great horror at Christ's coming. He tramples on Death, seizes the Prince of Hell, and takes Adam with Him to Heaven. Beelzebub, Prince of Hell, vehemently upbraids Satan for persecuting Christ, and bring-Him to Hell. Christ gives Beelzebub dominion over Satan for ever, as a recompense for taking away Adam and his sons. Christ takes Adam by the hand, the rest of the saints join hands, and they all ascend with Him to Heaven.*"

[e] "Histoire de la Vie et du Purgatoire de St Patrice, archevesque et primat d'Hibernie, avec plusieurs Oraisons; mises en François par le R. P. François Bouillon, de l'Ordre de S. François, et Bachelier en Theologie." Paris, 1712.

is not very far distant. A little above the last is "Abraham's Bosom," the abiding place of saints not sufficiently prepared for the bliss of Heaven.

Now, this is exactly the system of the universe, according to Gioseppe Rosaccio, a celebrated Italian cosmographer,—the Humboldt, in fact, of the latter part of the sixteenth century. In two of his works[f] he gives the accompanying diagram of the universe:—Hell, in the centre of the earth is seated at the lowest point; above it Purgatory; then Limbo; next Abraham's Bosom; and above that, the outer crust of the earth, Water, Fire, and Air, successively hold the next places; while above them, the "Seven Planets," as they were then termed—viz., the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn—revolve round the earth. Above the Planets are the "Starry-heavens," or fixed stars, next are the "Crystalline-heavens," and then the "Primum Mobile," which, moving,

SYSTEM OF THE UNIVERSE,

ACCORDING TO ROSACCIO.

[In the original, flames are represented rising from the bottom of Hell into the lower part of Purgatory.]

[f] Il Monde e sue Parti Florence, 1595. Teatro del Cielo e della Terra. Bologna, 1594.

as was supposed, from east to west, carried the planets and fixed stars with it, and caused the phenomena which we now account for by the earth's diurnal revolution on its axis. Above all is the "Empyreum" or Heaven of Heavens. Rosaccio devotes a chapter of his work to the consideration of the *space* which Hell, Purgatory, Limbo, and Abraham's Bosom occupy in the interior of the earth. (*Della Grandezza dell' Inferno, Purgatorio, Limbo, e Seno di Abramo.*) He actually gives their several *dimensions;* but rather arbitrarily disposes of the question—how Hell, in so small a compass, can contain so many inmates—by saying that the souls of sinners have no right to expect so much accommodation as blessed saints in Paradise. He also gives a long and strangely associated list of his authorities, in which Moses figures beside Hermes Trismegistus, Virgil is a companion to St. John the Evangelist, and the Psalms of David rank with the Commentaries of Cæsar.

A few years later, one Antonius Rusca, a learned theologian and doctor in philosophy and medicine, of the Ambrosian College of Milan, wrote a ponderous quarto[8] on this subject. In this work, which is dedicated "*Jesu Christo, Humani Generis Redemptori,*" Rusca positively states, as an unquestionable fact, that Hell is in the interior of the earth. He discusses its size, form, and whether it consists of one or several distinct places. Bringing the old scholastic reasoning into play, he treats of the fire, ice, serpents, and other punishments, *proving* them to be corporeal and eternal. He enters so minutely into his subject, that he discusses, at considerable length, the question how ice can be in Hell (not as a luxury) when there is no water there. He, too, gives his authorities, among which Virgil and other pagan writers are in the majority; and the work is proclaimed to be one of sound science and doctrine by the ecclesiastical censor. This book affords a key to the almost incomprehensible persecutions of Galileo, who was imprisoned, not so much for controverting the Scriptures, as for disagreeing with pagan writers. Dante was wiser in his generation, and made Virgil his guide to the other world.

Critics and commentators innumerable, looking at the past with the eyes of the present, have puzzled their brains to discover the hidden meanings and recondite allegories which Dante gave to the world, in his immortal work, the *Divina Commedia;* but an acquaintance with the science and religion of the period would have saved their "midnight oil," and proved that Dante did not invent, but faithfully described the popular religious and scientific beliefs of his era. His poem is strictly in accordance with the system of the universe as described by Rosaccio. Dante, first entering Hell, is led by Virgil through Purgatory, until he arrives at the earthly Paradise, or Abraham's Bosom, where he loses Virgil, but is then conducted, by Beatrice, through the nine heavens—the regions of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn,—the Starry-heavens, and the Empyreum. Reflecting the society, intelligence, and religion of its period, the poem mingles Pontifical with Imperial Rome, the Apocalypse with the Æneid, the saint with the demi-god, the nun with the vestal. Dante worshipped the Cross; but it was in a pagan temple, where the scarcely-mutilated images of

[8] De Inferni, et Statu Damnorum ante Mundi Exitium. Mediolanum 1621.

pagan demi-gods and heroes held a position among those of Christian saints. Nor was the *Divina Commedia*, as is generally supposed, the first work of its class: it was preceded by a countless crowd of legends of a similar description, which, though immeasurably inferior as works of art, still faintly reflect the popular beliefs of the periods in which they were written.

The earlier legends of visionary visits to the other world are distinguished by a simplicity of character not found in those of a later period. As an example, I may cite one related in the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, and First Pope of that name, who flourished in the sixth century. It is of a soldier who died, but subsequently returning to life, thus told his experiences of the world of spirits. He saw the souls of the wicked miserably accommodated in filthy cabins, situated in dreary marshes—the good in gorgeous palaces, placed in pleasant meadows. Between the two rolled a fetid, smoking river, spanned by a narrow bridge. The good alone could cross the bridge, the wicked invariably fell into the river. This bridge, which figures in most of the subsequent legends, was evidently borrowed from the *Pul Chinavad* of the Persian Magi, and is now the *Al Sirat* of the Mohammedan.

Although, previous to the tenth century, legends relating to the other world were so plentiful as to furnish a theme for the writers of burlesque,[h] yet about that period they seem to have fallen into discredit; for few, if any, are distinctly traceable to it. Probably this dearth of legends was

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[h] One of these burlesques, from a MS. of the eleventh century preserved in the public library of the university of Cambridge, is worthy of mention here. It was first published by Mr. Wright, but has since appeared in the *Altdeutsche Blätter*, and Grimm's *Lateinische Gedichte*. The quiet irony of the Archbishop, and the idea of his punishing a man in this world for an offence committed in the other, are very rich. Heriger was Archbishop of Mentz, from 912 to 926.

Heriger, urbis Maguntiacensis antistes, quendam vidit prophetam, qui ad infernum se dixit raptum.	Heriger, of the city of Mentz archbishop, saw a certain prophet, who said that he had been rapt to hell.
Inde cum multas referret causas, subjunxit totum esse infernum accinctum densis undique silvis.	When he had related many things of it, he added that all hell was surrounded on every side with thick woods.
Heriger illi ridens respondit, "Meum subulcum illuc ad pastum volo cum macris mittere porcis."	Heriger to him smiling answered, "I will my swine-herd, thither to pasture, send with my lean pigs."

The prophet then stated that he was taken to Heaven, where he saw the saints in great joy, eating and drinking, John the Baptist acting as chief butler, and St. Peter as head cook.

Heriger ait.	Heriger said
"Prudenter egit Christus, Johannem ponens pincernam, quoniam vinum non bibit unquam.	"Christ acted prudently, in making John his butler, since he never drank wine.
Mendax probaris, cum Petrum dicis illuc magistrum esse cocorum, est quia summi janitor cœli.	You prove yourself a liar, when you say that Peter is there master of the cooks, because he is the porter of high Heaven.

Heriger then inquires where the prophet sat, and what he eat.

Respondit homo, "Angulo uno partem pulmonis furabar cocis: hoc man lucavi, atque recessi."	The man answered. "In one corner part of a liver I stole from the cooks: this I ate and then retired."
Heriger illum jussit ad palum loris ligare, scopisque cædi, sermone duro hunc arguendo.	Heriger ordered him to be bound with thongs to a stake, and to be beaten with rods, with hard speech charging him:
"Si te ad suum invitet pastum Christus, ut secum capias cibum, cave ne furtum, facias [iterum.]"	"If thee Christ to his meal invite, with Him to take food, take care not to commit theft again."

occasioned by an idea, then prevalent, that the end of the world was at hand. So general was this belief, that it has formed a chronological index; and charters, dated "Termino mundi appropinquante," are referred by annalists to that period. In the twelfth century, however, these legends re-appeared, not in their original simplicity, but bearing evident proofs of a corrupt classical element having been mingled with the purer stream of an earlier Christianity.[i] It is in the more modern legends we first meet with classical names, ideas, and allusions. Besides the simple Heaven and Hell of an earlier period, we now meet with bad parodies of the "Stygian state" and "Elysian fields." The early legends purport to be no more than relations of ecstatic trances or visions seen in the spirit:—in the later ones, the living hero, like his prototype of the Æneid, entering the bowels of the earth, sees and hears in the flesh; and, as a reward for his boldness, is relieved from the penalty of visiting the less agreeable regions of the other world after death. Of the twelfth century legends, that of Tundale[j] is well worthy of attention, as the scene is laid in Ireland; its date precedes but a few years that of "the Knight," which rendered St. Patrick's Purgatory so famous; and, like the visitors to that place, Tundale suffered punishments during his trance which relieved him from their infliction after death.

Tundale, according to the legend, was a native of Cashel, and of noble birth. He was handsome, valiant, wealthy, and generous, but proud and passionate; and instead of giving his money to the church, he lavished it on jesters and minstrels. One day, he called upon a friend, to whom he had sold three horses, for payment. The money not being forth-coming, Tundale fell into a violent passion; but being subsequently mollified, he stopped for dinner. He had scarcely sat down to table when he complained of being unwell, and asking the lady of the house for his sperthe or battle-axe,[k] said he would go home. The next moment he called out for the mercy of God, and fell down apparently dead This happened in 1149, as the metrical version of the legend, which I quote in preference to the Latin original, thus relates:—

"Sothyn God dyeyd and from deyth arase,
Aftyr that tyme as ye may here,
A thousand and a hundryt yere,
And nine wintur and fourty,
As it hys writyn in the story."

The friends of Tundale were sent for; with great lamentations the dirge was chaunted, and the

[i] The revival of Latin literature, chiefly through the labours of Lanfranc, about the era of the Norman Conquest, gave a decidedly classical tinge to the scientific as well as legendary lore of the period, as those curious emanations from the cloister, the *Bestiaries* of the Monkish writers, abundantly prove. See Cahier's *Mélanges d'Archéologie, d'Histoire, et de Littérature. Paris*, 1848. Some interesting matter on the *Bestiaries* will also be found in a series of papers, *L'Epopée des Animaux*, by M. Charles Loundre, published in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, for 1853. These articles, shamefully mangled, and without the slightest acknowledgment of the source from which they were derived, lately appeared in a popular periodical, under the absurd title of *Mysteries of the Beasts!*

[j] There are many MSS. of Tundale in the original Latin; and after the invention of printing it was printed in mostly all European languages.

[k] Giraldus Cambrensis, speaking of the ancient Irish, says:—"From ancient custom, they always walk with their axe in their hands; as their sticks, wherever they go they carry it."

body laid out for burial. But his soul had no sooner departed from its earthly tenement, than it found itself in a dark place, and attacked by a host of demons "like wyld wolfys ramping." Tundale's guardian angel, which, it seems, had attended upon him from his youth, appeared, and driving away the demons, led him into Purgatory, where he first showed him the punishment of murderers, who were undergoing a continual process of melting and straining, as wax is melted and strained. After passing other scenes of a similar description they arrived at a beast, larger than a mountain, which could swallow nine thousand men in armour at one gulp; the men being pitch-forked in by the attendant demons who fed this monster. This beast was called Acheron, and its duty was to punish the avaricious. "Hæc bestia vocatur Acheron et devorat omnes avaros." Tundale was delivered up to the tender mercies of this hideous creature, for a short time, and then, being released by the angel, was conducted onwards till they came to a large fetid lake, filled with hideous monsters, over which there was a narrow bridge, scarce a hand's-breath wide, and thickly set with sharp spikes.

"Over that lake then, saw thei lygge
A wonder long narrow brygge,
Too myle of leynthe that was semand,
And scarsly of the bred of a hand.
Of scharpe pykys of yron and stell,
Hit was grevows for to fell.
Ther myght non passe by that brygge there
But thei feet wer hyrt sare.
The hydous bestys in that lake
Drew nerre the brygge ther pray to take
Off sowles that fell of that brygge don
To swolow hem, their wer ay bon.
Cryyin and yellin and goulynge y-fere
The noys was wonder dredful to here.
These hydous bestys wer wonder grete,
The sowles that fell weir thei mete."

Over this fearful bridge, Tundale saw a man, heavily laden with a stack of corn, attempting to pass, and the angel told him that the man had been a farmer, and the corn, tithe-corn, of which he had defrauded the church, and that all thieves must carry over this bridge whatever they had stolen in the upper world. Further, the angel reminded Tundale that he had once stolen a cow, and hinted that a little exercise on the bridge, in company with the cow, would be very beneficial to his soul's health. Tundale demurred to this proposition, asserting that the value of the cow had been restored to the loser; but the angel merely replied that that circumstance would be taken into consideration as a mitigation, not a remission of the punishment. Accordingly, Tundale had to drive the cow over the bridge, and a dreadful task it proved to be; particularly when he overtook the farmer, whose load of corn blocked the way, and they all fell down together; at last, the

angel, taking compassion on him, released him from the cow, and healing his mangled feet, led him on to fresh scenes. After passing another hideous beast, which tortured souls in a manner that cannot be described,[l] they arrived at the valley of the smiths—"vallem fabrorum."

"Thei cam to a deep dongyll
Of that syght lykyd hym full yll.
That dongyll fulle of smythys stode
And smythis abowte hym yode,
With gret homeris in her hond
And gret tongis hotte glowand.
Thys smythys were grysly on to loke,
Owt of her mowthis cam gret smoke;
Thes smythys were fulle o sowles within,
That wepten and maden gret dyn.
The master of that smythys was bold,
Vulcan was his name of old.
Lo yond, quoth the angel, wyth his gyn,
Hath made mony a man do syn;
Werefor with hym after there ded
The schule be payned with hym in this stede."

Vulcan deserves to be mentioned in the original Latin of the preceding version which is as follows:—"Venerunt in vallem fabrorum, ibique viderunt fabricas in quibus maximus audiebatur luctus. Tunc ait angelus: Tortor iste vocatur Vulcanus per cujus ingenium cerruerunt plurimi, et ab ipso cruciantur." Tundale was handed over to Vulcan, and, with other wretched souls, was soon made red-hot in a forge, and then hammered out on an anvil, then heated and hammered again, till the angel, considering that he had received punishment enough, led him away to have a look at Hell. There he saw Sathanas, a hideous monster, more than a hundred cubits in length and ten in breadth,[m] chained down upon a gridiron and broiled, while innumerable demons blew the fire. In his agony of torture Sathanas became a torturer himself. Stretching out his thousand hands, each furnished with claws longer than a knight's lance, he continually clutched handfuls of souls and squeezed them as a man would a bunch of grapes.

"Thus peyned he the sowles and did hem wo.

[l] Chaucer evidently alludes to this beast in his *Canterbury Tales*, with the coarse humour of his period; where the Sompnour, in revenge for the Friar's story, says—

"Ye have often time heard tell.
How that a Frere ravished was to hell,
In spirit ones by a visioun:
And as an angel led him up and down,
To shewen him the paines that there were,
In all the place, saw he not a Frere;
Of other folk he saw enough in woe.
Unto the angel spoke the Frere tho:
Now, sire, quod he, have Freres such a grace
That none of them shall comen in this place?
Yes, quod this angel, many a millioun;
And unto Sathanas he led him down.
And now, hath Sathanas, said he, a tail
Broader than of a carrick is the sail;
Hold up thy tail, thou Sathanas, quod he."

[m] "E più con un gigante i' mi convegno,
Che i giganti non fan con le sue braccia.
Dell' Inferno. Cant.—xxxiv

Dante seems to have combined a whole crowd of purgatory legends in the *Commedia*. Could he have read them all? I answer no. The *Commedia* portrayed as they did, the current beliefs of the period, and consequently there was generally a resemblance, common to each and all of them.

And hym selfe was peyned all so,
The more peyn that he ther wroght
To the sowles that thydur was broght,
The more peyne his owne was,
And fro that peyn may he not passe."

After passing over a lofty wall, Tundale and his angelic guide arrived at the *Statu mediocriter*, among the souls of those who had not been very evil, nor yet very good. They were exempted from the tortures of Purgatory, and, excepting a cold wet climate and rather short commons, they had not so much to complain of. In comparison with the torments of Purgatory, they were in Paradise; but compared to the joys of Paradise, they were yet in Purgatory. Tundale and the angel travelled on, till they came to a beautiful flower-enamelled plain; this was the earthly Paradise, or Abraham's Bosom, where—

"There was suche joy, melody, and ringyng,
And suche myrthe, and suche singyng,
And suche a syght of rychess,
That all thys worlde myght not hyt gesse,
Nor all the wyttis that ever wer sey
Cowthe hyt never halfe descry."

The earthly Paradise was divided into six regions, each differing in degree of delight, yet in all there were music, fine habitations, rich dresses, and good living. In one of these regions, Tundale saw his late King, Cormac, holding court with more than regal splendour; yet, sad to say, for three hours out of the twenty-four, he was punished for his laxity of morals when on earth. In the sixth and highest region, Tundale saw a tree, many thousand times larger than any of the trees of earth. It was covered with the most delicious fruits of all kinds, and its branches were tenanted by an innumerable host of singing birds of all colours. In cells, under its widely spreading shade, dwelt a great number of persons wearing crowns, and treated with regal deference. Then the angel said:

"This tree that thou myght see
To all holy church may lykkynd be,
And the folke thou seyst here dwelle,
Under the tree in ther scelle,
They ar men that in ther devocyon,
Made howsus of religyon,
And susteyned well Goddes servyse,
And foundyd churchys and chantryse,
And mayntened the state of clargy,
And feoffid holy church richly,
Both in londys, and in rentys,
With feyr and worchepful honowrnetys.
Therefor thei ar as thou myght see
All reyning in won fraternyte,
And ay schull have rest and pes,
And joy and blysse the never schul ces."

The angel, then, raising Tundale on a wall, permitted him to have a short peep over into Heaven, where, among others, he saw St. Patriek. He was then told that it was time for him to return to earth; but Tundale naturally insisted on remaining where he was. This the angel told him could not be, as he had not yet tasted of death. However, he was informed that having once been in Purgatory, his sins were expiated, and that he would not be required to visit it again.

"Then his sowle wox all hevy,
And felt it chargyd with hys body;
He opend hys een,"

and found himself on earth, a living man. Tundale's friends were at first alarmed, but soon proeeeded to make a grand feast, to eelebrate his resuseitation; but he forbade them, and ever after lived a holy life.

I need not draw the reader's attention to the parts whieh the classie Aeheron, and Vulean and the Cyclops perform in this curious legend. But I may observe that a similar elassical element enters largely into the mediæval stories of Fairy-land: and it is a remarkable and suggestive fact that a strong mutual resemblance exists between the latter and the legends of Purgatory. In Ritson's *Ancient English Metrical Romances* there is one entitled "Orfeo and Herodys," who, some will be probably surprised to learn, are no other than their old elassieal aequaintanees, Orpheus and Eurydice; but the seene is laid in Fairy-land instead of the Grecian Hades. The story relates how Herodys, wife of Orfeo, a petty English King, was carried off to Fairy-land; and how her husband—who

"Most of anything
Loved the gle of harpyng"

disguised as a musieian, followed her thither, through a eave in a rock.

"When he was in the rock y-go
Well thre mile other mo,
He eam into a fayr contray,
As bright [as] sonne [in] someres day,
Smoothe and plain,[n] and al grene,
Hill no dale was none y'sene."

In a short time he arrived at the palace of the Fairy monarch, who, surprised to see the uninvited stranger, demanded:

"What art thou
That art hydur y-com now?
Seth y this kyndom furst bygan

[n] In the beautiful Anglo-Saxon metrical version of the Latin poem *De Phœnice*, Paradise is also described as "smoothe and plain:"—

"That noble land is
with blossoms flowered;
nor hills nor mountains there
stand steep,
nor stony cliffs
tower high,
as here with us;
nor dells nor dales,
nor mountain caves,
risings nor hilly chains;
nor thereon rests ought unsmooth;
but the noble field
flourishes under the skies,
with delights blooming."

Fonde y non so hardy a man
That hydur durst come ne wende
But that y after hym sende."

Orfeo claimed the minstrel's privilege of travelling from land to land, and of entering palace as well as cabin; and by his skill on the harp so pleased the Fairy King, that he recovered Herodys, and took her home, where they lived happily together for many years.

There are numerous other instances of the classical element being common to legends both of Fairy-land and Purgatory; and as the fairies were popularly considered to be a less guilty class of the fallen angels, we may be the less surprised to find Fairy-land situated in the interior of the earth, greatly resembling, and within an easy distance of Purgatory. When the Fairy Queen took away Thomas of Ercildown from middle earth to Fairy-land,—

"She led him to the eldryn hille,[o]
Undernethe the grene wode lee,
Whor hit was dark as any hell,
And ever water to the knee.
* * *
She led hym to a fayre herbere,[p]
Ther frute groande was great plentè;
Peyres and appuls bothe ripe thei were,
The darte, and also the damson tree.

The fygge, and also the white bery;
The nyghtyngale bigging her nest;
The papynjay fast about gan flye;
The throstill song wolde have no rest."

She then desired the Rhymer to place his hand upon her knee, while she pointed out to him—a stranger in the land—the principal features of the surrounding scenery.

"Sees thu yonder is fayr way,
That lyes over yonder mounteyne?
Yonder is the way to heven for ay,
When synful soules have duryd ther peyne.

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[o] [p] In one of the MSS. collections at Cambridge there is a poem relating how a boy, whose father and uncle were killed in battle, was taken away to visit them in the other world

"The childe that was so nobull and wyse
Stode at his fadurs grafe at eve:
Ther cam up one in a qwyte surplisse,
And prively took him by the sleve."

This one in the white surplice was an angel.

"He led hym to a cumly hille,
The erth opened [and] in the yeide:
Smok and fire there cam out welle,
And many gosts gloying on glede."

This was Purgatory, from whence after the boy had received the practical moral lesson of seeing his father dreadfully tortured for the crime of "spouse-breke," he was taken to visit his uncle in Paradise.

"He led him to a faire erber,
The gatis were of clere cristall,
To his sigt were passyng fayre
And brigt as any beriall.

The pellican and the popynjay,
The tomor and the turtil trew;
A hundirth thousand up on hy
The nyghtyngal with notis newe."

Sees thu now, Thomas, yonder way,
That lyse low under yon rise?
Wide is the way, the sothe to say,
Into the joys of Paradyse.

Sees thu yonder thrid way,
That lies over yonder playne?
Yonder is the way, the sothe to say,
Ther sinfulle soules shal drye ther payne.

Sees thu now yonder fourt way,
That lyes over yonder felle?
Yonder is the way, the sothe to say;
Unto the brennand fyre of Helle.

Sees thu now yonder fayre castelle,
That standis upon yonder favre hille?
Off town and toure it berith the belle;
In myde erthe, ther is non like ther-tille."

This "castelle" was the palace of the monarch of Fairy land.

Materials are abundant, but space does not permit me to follow this part of my subject farther. Those sad rogues the Trouvères, and some early German and English pre-Reformation writers, perpetrated many burlesques on the later legends of purgatory. The "land of Cocaigne," or Cookery-land, happily satirised the saints, lingering among the flesh-pots of the earthly paradise, of the purgatory legends, in preference to entering the supreme Heaven. In the Harleian MSS., there is a legend of Cocaigne, which tells us that in that happy land—

"All of pasteiis beth the walles,
Of fleish, of fishe, and rich mete,
The likefullist that man mai ete;
Flowren cake, beth the shingles alle
Of church, cloister, boure, and halle:
The pinnes beth fat podinges
Rich mete to princes and kinges."

Cocaigne is now but a nursery rhyme about the place where "houses are thatched with pancakes," yet I have frequently heard those grown up children—sailors, seriously speak of a paradise *à la* Mahomet, which they term "Fiddler's-Green," where continual dancing, rum, and tobacco, well recompense them for the hardships of the deep.

This introduction might have been extended much farther, but inexorable space, and a dread of exhausting the patience of the reader, warn me to conclude. As it is, I must apologise for its length, though I found it impossible in a much less space to prepare the reader, unacquainted with ancient legendary lore, for the legends which are to follow, and which, throughout the Christian world, gave to a little island in Lough Derg the name and fame of St. Patrick's Purgatory.

[1] There even was a classical Cocaigne, ridiculing, in like manner, the earthly Paradise of the Grecian mythology. See Athenæus, *Deipnosophistarum*.

THE BATTLE OF "MAGH RATH:"—ITS TRUE SITE DETERMINED.

THE battle of Magh Rath, fought A.D. 637, is one of the most important recorded in the Irish Annals; it is mentioned by Adamnan, Abbot of Iona; by the Annalist Tighernach; also in the *Chronicon Scotorum*, the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*. The entry of Tighernach is as follows:—"A.D. 637.—The Battle of Magh Rath was fought by Domhnall, son of Aedh, and by the sons of Aedh Slaine, (but Domhnall at this time ruled Temoria), in which fell Congal Caech, King of Uladh, and Faelan, with many nobles; and in which fell Suibhne, the son of Colman Cuar." O'Flaherty's entry is much more minute and copious. We quote from Hely's translation:—"In the year 637, the battle of Moy-rath, in Ulster, is fought by Domnald the Second, King of Ireland, and the sons of Aid Slany, monarch of Ireland, against Congall Claen, the son of Scandal, King of Ulidia, who was [had been] vanquished in a battle at Dun Kethern, in the year 629, and banished into Britain for his factious and aspiring measures. He levied a great army for this battle, composed of Albanian Scots, with their king Domnall Bree and his brothers, of Picts, Anglo-Saxons, and Britons. In this battle, which continued for seven days, Congall was killed, the rest obliged to fly in the utmost consternation, and Suwney, the son of Cuar, lord of Dalaradia, was drowned. Concerning this war, Adamnan says as follows:—'This prediction was fulfilled in our days, in the war of Rath, when Domnal Bree, the grandson of Aidan, was depopulating, without any provocation, the provinces of Domnill, the grandson of Ainmirech; and, from that day to this, they have been reduced to the last extremity by foreigners: which gives me the most heartfelt concern.'"

But the longest and most interesting account of this battle is found in a historical tale of the fifteenth century, the "*Cath Muighe Rath*," translated and edited by Dr. O'Donovan, for the Irish Archæological Society, in 1842, and which the editor says has been evidently compiled from earlier accounts.

Charles O'Conor, of Belanagare, in his *Dissertations on the History of Ireland*, has entered at great length into the history of the battle, and the consequences which might have ensued had victory leaned to Congal Claen; which, doubtless, would have been the subversion of the independence of the kingdom. We believe O'Conor was the first person who assumed the identity of Magh Rath with the present *Moira*, in the county of Down; an opinion which has been since uniformly accepted by succeeding writers. It is, therefore, with considerable hesitation that the present writer has adopted another view; but as his sole object is the elicitation of truth, and as the subject has been adverted to in this Journal, he has, although with some reluctance, determined on giving his reasons to the public—to be taken *quantum valeant*.

In endeavouring to discover the true site of the battle, we shall select from the "*Cath Muighe Rath*" such incidents as may lead to this object, and the names of all the localities mentioned in immediate connection with the conflict. The topographical features are indeed few; the progress of the contending armies is not given; and after an elaborate eulogium on King Domhnall, we are at once introduced to "the plain of Magh Comair, afterwards called Magh Rath, of the Red Pools," where the armies remained fighting for six full days. The monarch, Domhnall, after passing a sleepless vigil, before the seventh and final day of this fierce and hard-fought field, is described as going forth vigorously in the morning, it being Tuesday, "the ninth day of the summer quarter, the eighth of the calends of July,"—and advancing to "Tulchan na d-Tailgenn, in the middle of the camp, where the distinguished saints of Erin were used to chant their vespers and say their prayers;" and from thence sending Gair Gann, the son of Feradhach, to request the arch-chieftains of Erin to hold a consultation whether battle or conditions should be given to Congal. Dr. O'Donovan translates the above name as "the hillock of saints," and observes that it is now forgotten at Moira. The resolution adopted by the council was to not submit to Congal, but to give him battle and put down his ambition without mercy. The king in a long address calls on the hosts of Munster, Leinster, Desmond, and Ossory, the men of Meath, and of the race of Eoghan, to repel the attacks of the Ultonians and foreigners, to fight the battle firmly, fiercely, and obstinately—a battle which had been foretold by Columkille, of the race of Niall of the Nine Hostages:—

"Let there be rapidity in your hands of fame,
And slowness in your feet;
Let there be no step west or east,
But a firm manly step.
Ye sojourners, I am your head,
Ye splendid soldiers of Erin,
Ye high-minded kernes of fame,
Give battle around the king of Tara."

The nobles having arrayed their forces, equipping their arch-princes in protecting helmets and defending shields, raising their glittering swords, warlike lances and broad javelins, in one great battalion of princes and kings, closing in a circle of shields around Domhnall; the latter detached sixteen chieftains of his own tribe to repel every attack from his breast, charging Cellach, the son of Maelcobha, afterwards his successor as monarch of Ireland, to watch and relieve the puissant race of Niall out of every difficulty.

Meantime Congal, who, despite the entreaties of his Tailgenns, and the magical predictions of the Druids foretelling his death, refused either to conclude peace with his foster-father [King Domhnall] and the arch chieftains of Ulster, or to fly the battle, is thus remonstrated with by his Druid Dubhdiabh.—

"Shun the battle and it will shun thee,
O Congal of Mullach Macha;
The son of Aedh, son of Ainmire,
Approaches thee at the head of the battle.
In that battle which thou hast raised,
And which thou hast proclaimed without feebleness;
It is the *same as* swimming over the mighty waved sea,
For thee to contend with thy foster-father.

* * * * * * *

I know the *future* name which this oak-grove *shall bear*
Until the day of judgment—DAIRE IN LATHA.
The name of this plain shall be
The beautiful Magh Rath.
It shall be called Magh Rath from this prosperous battle,
A plain *over the brink of the ford;*
This hillock shall be called Carn Congail
From this to the day of judgment."

Congal, however, being determined on risking battle, despatched a messenger to reconnoitre the phalanx around King Domhnall, and ascertain if his troops were fettered to each other two and two—a singular, but it seems then common expedient, adopted to prevent one flying without the consent of the other. The fetters being concealed by the skirts of the soldiers' battle-coats, and Congal being dissatisfied with the emissary's answer, he despatched Dubhdiadh his Druid or poet, who proceeded to "*Ard na h-imaircsi*" (the hill of the espying) where his attention apparently was altogether absorbed by the northern battalion, with their proud tufted beards reaching midways, and prominent eye-brows, arrayed in glossy, half-length, wide-folded shirts, and gold-embroidered tunics, with black-wooled sheepskins folded about them.

The hosts of the Ultonians and their confederate foreigners are described very minutely, the pre-eminence being given to the Clan Rury, as the bravest and most terrible to maintain the field against the race of Conn. From his warriors Congal stepped aside to "*Cnocan an choscair*" (the hillock of the slaughter) *afterwards so called*, writes the poet, as being the place where Congal was triumphed over, when cut down by the men of Erin; and thence he delivers a stirring appeal on the glories of ancient Ulster and its celebrated heroes. His denunciation of the races of Conn and Eoghan, and the Airghialla, who had seized its greater portion, is answered by the terrible rush and onset of his troops against those of Domhnall, "*on the very middle of the wooded Magh Comair*," the latter monarch himself describing their approach and satin banners in these words:—

"Mightily advance the battalions of Congal

To us over Ath an Ornaim, *(the ford of Ornamh)*
When they come to the contest of the men,
They require not to be harangued.
The token of the great warrior of Macha,
Variegated satin, on warlike poles,
The banner of each bright king with prosperity
Over his own head conspicuously *displayed.*
The banner of Seanlann,—an ornament with prosperity,—
And of Fiachna Mor, the son of Baedan,
Great symbol of plunder floating from its staff,
Is over the head of Congal *advancing* towards us.
A yellow Lion, on green satin,
The insignia of the Craebh Ruadh,
Such as the noble Conchobhar* bore,
Is now held up by Congal.

* * * * * * *

The standard of Suibhne, a yellow banner,
The renowned King of Dal Araidhe,
Yellow satin, over that mild man of hosts,
The white-fingered stripling himself in the middle of them.
The standard of Ferdoman of banquets,
The red-weaponed King of the Ards of Ulster,
White satin to the sun and wind displayed
Over that mighty man without blemish."

The madness of Suibhne, grandson of Cobhthach, King of Dal Araidhe, who had been cursed by St. Ronan of Drumiskin, and the leap which he made on the top of a sacred tree, "*bile buada*," which grew on the plain, from which the people watched the battle, and his flight from the combat, interrupted for a time the contending armies, the conflict being again renewed with terrific slaughter. The contests and deaths of the Albanian princes, supporters of Congal, are then depicted with great power, after which the writer narrates the deadly personal struggle of Congal with Conall, chieftain of Tory, and Congal's release by Conan Rod, son of the King of Britain, by whom Conall is slain; the opportune advance of Cellach, one of the most renowned chiefs of the royal army, by by whom Conan was, after a desperate engagement, beheaded; and the dismay which pervaded the foreigners in consequence of his death. The successive attacks made on Cellach by the choicest

* This was Conor Mac Nessa, King of Ulster proper.

heroes of the Ulster army; their defeat and deaths; his piling their bodies into a bloody heap, into which he cast their heads, after exhibiting them to the king, are also sketched; when a new personage and a strange incident are introduced:—

On the last day of the battle it happened that the women of Ultan Lamhfada (the long handed), King of Caill na g-Curadh, then called Oirthear, now the Barony of Orier, in the County of Armagh, were preparing a bath for washing and bathing at Dun Adhmainn in Tir O m-Breasail, (Clann Breasail, near Lurgan, County of Armagh), and Cuanna, the son of the king, and then an idiot, who had been fostered by Domhnall along with Congal Claen, was desired by his stepmother to go for a bundle of fire-wood. Having returned with a useless bundle of green twigs, and top-branches of birch, he was reproached by the woman as being unfitted to assist his father and fosterer, against the Ultonians and foreigners, it being his father's turn to have fought the preceding day. Cuanna having inquired—"Who will show me the way to Magh Rath?" "It requires but little courage in thee to find out the way thither," said they; "go to Iobhar Chinn Choice mhic Neachtain, which is now called Iobhar Chinn Tragha," (now the town of Newry) "where thou shalt find the abundant track of the hosts, and follow it to Magh Rath." Cuanna went forward in rapid course till he arrived at Magh Rath, where he saw the great forces of both parties attacking each other. As the men of Erin were there, they saw one lone man in the plain approaching them exactly from the *south-west*, and they ceased till they recognised who he was. The idiot, having been informed by the king that his father had been slain on the preceding day by Congal, was fired with revenge; and, being armed by Domhnall and other chieftains, with a javelin or spear, turned to the battle in search of Congal, whom he met, after having prostrated and triumphed over the mightiest men of the royal army. Congal, after some conversation, disdaining to strike the simpleton, the latter pressing his foot heavily on the earth, and putting his finger on the cord of his broad-headed spear, made such a furious shot at Congal, that the spear pierced through his armour and body, the first fatal wound being thus inflicted by his idiot foster-brother. From this moment, Congal, recognising that he was no longer king of Ulster or Erin, proceeded to revenge himself by a terrible onslaught on the opposing forces, until engaged and overpowered by Maelduin, (who cut off his right hand) he finally disappears from the battle, and then ensues complete flight of the Ultonians and foreigners, leaving behind prodigious military booty.

The foregoing is a sketch of the great leading facts of this battle, with the names of the remarkable places introduced; the question now to be discussed is, whether all or any of these localities can be identified, and if they afford sufficient evidence to point out with certainty the actual site. Dr. O'Donovan appears not to have questioned the identity of Magh Rath and the present Moira, while he candidly admits that "*Tulchan na d-Tailgenn*,"—"*Daire in latha*," &c., are names totally forgotten at that place. An eminent antiquarian, the reviewer of Dr. Reeves's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*, in the *Dublin University Magazine*, for February, 1848, writing

on this subject, also admits that "all local memory of the event is now gone, save that one or two localities preserve names connected with it. Thus, beside the Rath of Moyra, on the east, is the hill *Cairn-Albanach*, the burial-place of the Scottish princes, Congal's uncles, and a pillar-stone with a rude cross and some circles engraven on it, marked the site of their resting-place. On the other hand, the townland of *Aughnafoskar* probably preserves the name of *Knockanchoscar*, from which Congal's druid surveyed the royal army, drawn up in the plain below, on the first morning of the battle. *Ath ornaidh*, the ford crossed by one of the armies, is probably modernised in *Thorny-ford*, on the river, at some distance." We doubt much the correctness of these identifications, and we may observe that no Cairn Albanach is mentioned in the tale, and that Thorny-ford is about five miles distant from Moira. This brings us to the problem—where was Magh Rath?

The earliest mention of the name Magh Rath, is found in the *Four Masters*, under A.M. 3549, where it is stated that the plain of *Magh-Rath*, in Iveagh, was then cleared of wood; the position of which place Dr. O'Donovan, in his notes on that passage, says is determined by the village of Moira. But this entry of itself affords no direct clue to the locality, as the names Moira, Moyrey, and Myrath, enter into the composition of several other places in Iveagh, namely—Aughna-*moira*, near Warrenpoint, Gort-*moyrey*, in the parish of Donagheloney, also Castle-*myrathir*, in the parish of Garvaghy, the latter occurring in a grant of part of the lands of Iveagh [21 *Feb.* 8, *James* 1] to John Todd, Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore. Besides, there is the celebrated *Moyry* Castle on the borders of Armagh and Louth, which guarded the pass from Leinster into Ulster. It is also found mentioned in a poem of the tenth century, "*The Circuit of Ireland by Muirchertach Mac Neill*," one of the first volumes published by the Irish Archæological Society. In this tale, the poet, in describing the progress of the King of Ailech through Ulster, writes that they tarried a night at Dun-Eachdach; a night at the level *Magh Rath;* a night at the bright Glenree; a night at Casan Linne, and a night at the clear Ath Gabhla.

Whether this was the Magh Rath of the battle or not, it is perfectly manifest that the description contains no clear indication to point out where Magh Rath was; for if Dun-Eachdach was *Duneight*, near Lisburn; the Glenree the vale of the Newry river; the Cassan Linne, the tidal river Dee, near Castlebellingham, where, at its junction with the sea, Annagasson (Eanach g-Cassain) still preserves the name; and Ath Gabhla, a ford on the river Boyne, as stated by Dr. O'Donovan [*Four Masters, p.* 642]; Moira would be too contiguous to Duneight for the halting-place between the latter and Newry, which would be better answered by Castle *Myrathir* in Garvaghy, it being almost mid-way.

By the *Book of Lecan*, it appears there was a Church of St. Ronan Finn, in Corco Ruisean, in Magh Rath, which, under the name of Kilronan, Colgan supposed to be in the parish of Magheralin, identifying the latter with the church of Linduacaill on the river Casan Linne, he having assumed that the latter was the river Lagan. But this river, as previously stated, Dr. O'Donovan has satis-

factorily proved to be the Dee, which completely upsets Colgan's theory. It also appears by the *Calendar of Donegall*, December 27, that there was another church in Magh Rath, dedicated to St. Tiopraite, but nothing more of it is known; nor is there evidence of any kind to show that there had been any church in or near the present Moira, or in any of the Sessiaghs, or townlands parcel of Moyragh, (granted, 8. James, I., to Murtogh McTirlogh O'Lawrie, of Moyragh,) before the year 1722, when the present parish was disannexed by an order of the Irish Privy Council from the parish of Magheralin, and a new church erected, which was rebuilt about 1740. There are, however, the remains or cemeteries of several churches in the lordship of Newry, formerly part of Iveagh, the names of which are now obsolete; such as at Castle-Enigan and Lisserboy, and one at Ouley, called *Tipper* Donagh. Whether the latter was the church of St. *Tiopraite* cannot safely be pronounced.

It is unfortunate that the *Tain Bo Cuailgne* is silent as to the name, for if mentioned, there can be little doubt the accompanying topographic details would have materially assisted to settle the question; we may, however, hope that some of the Irish MSS. announced for publication by our antiquarian societies may contribute to this desideratum, and, in the meantime, the writer takes the liberty of publishing his own views.

About a mile directly north-east of the Town of Newry, on the banks of the river Glenree, nigh its confluence with the river which has its source in Derrylackagh, lies the great mound called the Crown Rath; it is seated on the verge of an extensive *Corcagh* or marshy plain in the townland of Sheeptown, having Crobane and Croreagh on the east, Corneyhough, Derrylackagh, and Ballyhollan on the south, Damoly and Drumcashellone on the west, and the river-vale on the north.

It is to be regretted that the territorial appellation of that district of Iveagh, which stretches from the Crown Bridge to Lisserboy, is now forgotten, the entire being at present absorbed in the name of the greater territory of the lordship of Newry, although the names of the adjoining districts of the *Lagan* to the south, *Clanawlie* south-west, *Clanagan* and *Shankill*, north, are still preserved in the grants of James I.; it may, however, from the great number of *Raths* which still beautify this plain, have borne at one period the name Magh Rath, a question now of difficult solution.

The universal tradition of the country assigns this locality as the scene of a great battle, fought for the Crown of Ireland, and states that from this circumstance the Rath and Crown Bridge, a little to the south, derived their names; and inasmuch as Magenis and O'Hanlon were the bordering Irish chiefs, they in the lapse of time came to be represented as the rival claimants for the crown, though neither family asserted pretensions to such an honour.

From time to time in Sheeptown, Ballyhollan, and Derrylackagh, human bones and military remains have been found in such large quantities as to confirm the statement that a deadly battle had been fought in the neighbourhood; and, so far as the topography of the "*Cath Muighe Rath*" affords us evidence, this locality has better founded claims to that battle than the present village of

Moira. For this view the extracts already given, and the statements made, will have in a great degree prepared the reader.

Magh Rath is represented as having been formerly called "Magh Comair," [the plain of the confluence,] and in Irish nomenclature the word "Comair" is applied to a place "at the junction of rivers, either with rivers, or with large sheets of water" [*Reeves, Ecc. Ant.* pp. 197, 369]; it is also called "Magh Rath of the Red Pools:"—now neither of these descriptions in anywise answers Moira, while both precisely answer the Crown Rath,—it is in a marsh, on the brink of the Glenree, filled in summer with numerous pools, and near its junction with the Derrylackagh river. Again, Newry is described as being in the abundant track of the hosts, and therefore in the immediate vicinity of the battle, while it is exactly south-west from the Rath, in which direction the men of Erin engaged in the conflict observed Cuanna coming from that place. This in itself affords one of the most conclusive proofs against Moira, as the latter being only a few miles East of Tir O m-Breasail, Cuanna's direct route would have been short, and due east, whereas the route pointed to him was southwards to Newry. A glance at the Map of Ireland at once shows that Cuanna, by proceeding first twenty miles S. S. W. to Newry, to afterwards reach Moira would have to travel back again almost twenty miles more in a parallel line, instead of a few miles.

The decisive morning of the battle, the king advances to Tulchan na d-Tailgenn, which name would be pronounced Tullydelgin, the *d* eclipsing the *T*. We have already mentioned that Dr. O'Donovan states this name to be now forgotten at Moira, and it is one perfectly unique in Ulster; but in the Return of the Commissioners appointed by Royal Commission [*Ulst. Inquis.* p. xliii.] to perambulate and fix the true limits of Iveagh, dated 12th June 1618, they find the "meering between Knockne Cleye, and TULLY DALGYN," as one of the meers between the lands of Rose Trevor, belonging to Sir Edward Trevor, and the lands of Drumseske, Ballyenymony, &c. belonging to Sir Arthur Magenis, which lands, it is particularly to be observed, are only a few miles distant from Derrylackagh.

From the address of the Druid to Congal we learn that in the vicinity of Magh Rath was an oak grove, which afterwards bore the name of "*Daire in latha.*" We are aware of the inclination of some antiquarians to rest too much on the similarity of names, but when we recollect the corruptions and changes which the Irish denominations of townlands have undergone, and which, to persons accustomed to examine Inquisitions and old Grants, and the many *aliters* there given, is anything but strange, we consider we are not assuming too much in identifying the name "*Daire in latha,*" with that of *Derrylackagh* (itself so variously spelled in the same Inquisitions), a townland immediately adjoining the Crown Rath; recollecting, also, that in this very townland, as appears by the Charter from Maurice O'Loughlin, King of Ireland, to the Cistercian Abbey of Newry, about A.D. 1158, there was a "*bilè*" or sacred oak [*Reeves*, pp. 76-117], and that Suibhne in his madness is stated to have leaped on a "*bilè buada*" which grew on the plain near the scene of warfare.

On the east side of an elevated portion of this townland, partaking somewhat of a mountainous character, not very distant from the old cemetery of Templegouran, immediately below a mass of solid rock, there still remains a very large granite stone now lying flat, having to the north five other standing stones, a portion being evidently carried away, and which tradition has assigned as the *débris* of a "King's House." The name of the place being now forgotten, it cannot be ascertained if this be the Cairn Congal of the Poem, but unquestionably it is not the remains of a *cashel*, or so called "Druidic ring," the sides of some of the stones being feathered; and it seems more likely to have been raised to commemorate the site of some important event than anything else. In the adjoining townland of Tamnaharry there is also a remarkable pillar-stone, and there are many megalithic and other remains, cairns, &c., in the neighbourhood; and although there is no Cairn *Albanagh*, we find by an inquisition taken at Newry, 5th June, 1629, to inquire into the lands of Arthur Viscount Magenis of Iveagh, that there was an *Eden Albanach* in the vicinity.

That a river was in the immediate locality of the battle is also evident from many parts of the Tale, the troops of Congal being described as advancing mightily over "Ath an Ornaim"—the ford of Ornam. Now, in an Inquisition taken at Newry, in the reign of James I. [*Ult. Inq.* 15, James I.] to inquire into the possessions of Arthur Bagnall, we find him seized *inter alia* of "the two carewes or balliboes of Sheepestown, viz., Ath ername al'Athtruth, and Lyssymelleth," thus giving us Ath an Ornaim in the very spot required.

"Ard na h'imairesi" and "Cnocan an Choscair" for so far remain unidentified. Being simply the names of hills, not of themselves of sufficient importance to be conferred on distinct carews or balliboes, the early Inquisitions and Grants afford no means of tracing them, or ascertaining their precise locality, though there are many places in the district which would answer their description; the names "Ard" and "Knock," alone or as prefixes, entering largely into the composition of adjoining sub-denominations. In the lapse of twelve centuries the wonder is, that so many names have been preserved and so few forgotten. In Sheeptown alone there were seven quarters or carews, as we learn from the abstract of a grant of it and the adjoining lands (in the Report of the Record Commissioners), from the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates to James Anderson of Dublin, who afterwards assigned his interest to William Wallace of Newry; but of the seven names only two are known, being those mentioned above.

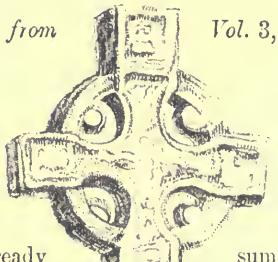
This investigation is for the present closed; and the writer trusts that, so far as the evidence of tradition, the Irish chronicles, and local topography, shed light on the subject, he has treated it fairly, and succeeded in proving that the Battle of Magh Rath was not fought at *Moira*, but in the vicinity of the Crown Rath beside Newry.

J. W. Hanna.

THE ROUND TOWERS OF ULSTER.

(Continued from Vol. 3, p. 309.)

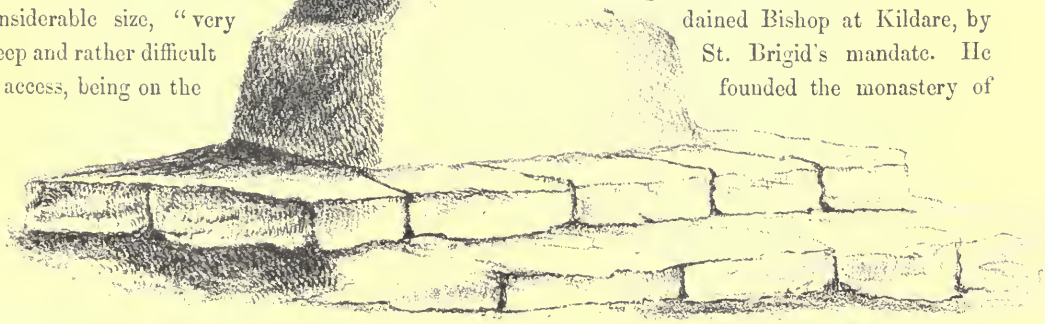
CLONES TOWER, COUNTY MONAGHAN.



In the map of "Dartrie" already figured in connexion with the Introductory Observations, the sites of several remarkable ecclesiastical buildings, including a round tower (which, according to Dr. Petrie's views, comes under this denomination), are given; to all of these it will be necessary to refer before noticing the examination made of the Tower of Clones on the 5th September, 1842.

Cluain-Eois (Clones), "the plain of waters," is a place of ancient note in Irish history, and probably derives its name from being situated on a hill which was partly surrounded by water. The most ancient work here is an earthen mound of considerable size, "very steep and rather difficult of access, being on the summit of a considerable hill." This is shown on the left side of the Tower in the rude map already referred to.

Clones acquired an early celebrity by the residence of St. Tighernach, who here founded a monastery in the early part of the sixth century, and, in the words of the annalists, "rested" A.D. 542. Dr. Reeves, in his notes on the *Annals of Ulster*, gives the following particulars of this religionist: —"His life is printed by the Bollandists from three MSS. at the 5th of April, his festival. [April, *Tom.* i. pp. 401, 404.] His father Cairbre was seventh in descent from Daire Barrach, son of Cathaeir Mor, and his mother Derfraych, of the family of Cairpre Daimhargaid, King of Airghialla. It is said that he was ordained Bishop at Kildare, by St. Brigid's mandate. He founded the monastery of



Galloon [Gaballinense monasticum] in Lough Erne, which he committed to St Comgall when he departed to found his chief monastery of Clones. Ware states that he was also venerated at the church of Derrinoalain [Derryvullen, in Fermanagh] and that his office was preserved in S. Benet's Library at Cambridge.

"Here," (Clones) "there is St. Tierney's Well, and the abbey lands form what is called St. Tierney's manor. From a mistaken notion that the Irish had in primitive ages a succession of Diocesan bishops, Irish writers have represented St. Tigernach (Tierney) as successor of St. Macearthen of Clogher, and as transferring the see from that church to Clones.—[See Harris's Ware, p. 177; Archdall, Monast. p. 582.] This is not a place for entering on the discussion of this curious point of Irish history, which is so ably treated by Mr. King in his admirable work, *A Memoir Introductory to the Early History of the Primacy of Armagh;* and the writer will only add that a curious example, in our own time, of the ancient custom of ordaining bishops unconnected with dioceses is found in the fact that the Pope confers on each new abbot of St. Lazaro, near Venice, the title and dignity of archbishop, although he has no province or bishops under him.* The well called Tubber Tierney is still shown near the fort or earthen mound already mentioned.

The following entries with respect to the ancient ecclesiastical history of Clones, are found in Dr. O'Donovan's edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters*:—

"The age of Christ, 548, Saint Tighearnach, Bishop of Cluain-eois, died on the 4th April. [Under the same date the *Annals of Ulster* record, Tighernach of Cluain-eois rested. This may be considered the most important entry, as giving the death of the founder of the religious house.]

The age of Christ, 700, Diuenill, abbot of Cluan-Eois, died.

The age of Christ, 714, Cele-Tighearnaigh [that is, servant of St. Tighearnach] abbot of Cluain-Eois, died. The *Annals of Ulster* give this under the year 715.

The age of Christ, 741, Dubhdabhoireann Ua Beccain, abbot of Cluain-Eois, died.

The age of Christ, 746, Nuada, son of Dubhsleibhe, abbot of Cluain-Eois, died.

The age of Christ, 773, Finan, abbot of Cluain-Eois, died.

The age of Christ, 805, [*recte* 810], Gormghal, son of Dindaghaigh, abbot of Ard-Macha and Cluain Eois, died.

The age of Christ, 839, the eighth year of Niall.—Joseph of Rosmor, bishop, and distinguished scribe, abbot of Cluain-Eois and other churches, died.

The age of Christ, 877, Duibhlitir, abbot of Cluain-eois and Tigh-airindan, died.

The age of Christ, 912, Maelciarain, son of Eochagan, abbot of Cluain-eois and Mucnamh, died. He was foster-son to Fethghna. [In the *Annals of Ulster* (Cod. Clar.) this entry reads thus, as quoted by Dr. King, in his *Primacy*, A.D., 914, [als., 915.] "Mael Ciarain Mac Eochagain, prince of Clonains, and Bishop of Ardmacha, in the 70th year of his age, dies in Christ."—Perhaps, however, it should be prince of Clonauis, [i.e., Clones] and foster-son of Fethgna, Bishop of Ardmach; the error originating in a mistake of the transcriber.]

The age of Christ, 929, Ceannfaeladh, son of Lorcan, Comharba of Cluain-Eois, and Clochar-mac-Daimheini, died.

The age of Christ, 943, Maeltuile, son of Dunan, successor of Tighearnach, died.

The age of Christ, 956, Flann, son of Mochloingseach, successor of Tighearnach died.

The age of Christ, 961, Caen-Comhrac, son of Caran, distinguished bishop and abbot of Cluain-Eois, died.

* *Armenia*, by the Hon. Robert Curzon. London: Murray. 1854: p. 229.

The age of Christ, 978 (*recte*, 979) Rumann Ua h-Aedhagain, abbot of Cluain-Eois, died.

The age of Christ, 1010, (*recte*, 1011) Flaithbheartach Ua Cethenen, successor of Tighearnach, a (venerable) senior and distinguished bishop, was mortally wounded by the men of Breifne; and he afterwards died in his own church at Cluain-Eois.

The age of Christ, 1030, Eochaidh Ua Cethenen, successor of Tigharnach, chief paragon of Ireland in wisdom, died at Ard-Macha.

The age of Christ, 1039, Ceileachair Ua Cuileannain, successor of Tighearnach, died.

The age of Christ, 1084, Muireadhach Ua Ceithnen, Airchinneach of Cluain-Eois, died.

The age of Christ, 1095, Cluain-Eois burned.

The age of Christ, 1139, Cathal Mac Maelfhinn, successor of Tighearnach, of Cluain-Eois, fountain of the prosperity and affluence of the North of Ireland, bestower of food upon the laity and the clergy, died.

The age of Christ, 1247, Hugh Mac Conchaille, abbot of Clones, died.

[On this name Dr. O'Donovan makes the following observation] :—"It is still extant in the neighbourhood of Clones, in the county of Monaghan and in the county of Fermanagh, but Anglicised by some to *Woods*, and by others to *Cox*, because it is assumed that *Caille* or *Coille*, the latter part of the name, may signify *of a wood*, or *of a cock*.

The age of Christ, 1257, Mac Robias, abbot of Clones, died.

The age of Christ, 1353, John O'Carbry, Coarb of Tighernach, of Cluain-Eois, died.—This person's name appears inscribed on the Cumhdach, or case of Saint Patrick's copy of the Gospels given to St. Mac Cartheun, of Clogher.—[*Trans. R. I. A.*]

The age of Christ, 1435, Donn, the son of Cuconnaught Maguire, died, in canonical orders, at Clones, after the victory of penance, having retired from the world for the love of the Lord.

The age of Christ, 1444, Manus Mac Mahon, heir to the lordship of Oriel, died, and was interred at Clones.

The age of Christ, 1453, Mac Mahon, Hugh Roe, son of Rory, an affable and pious man, well skilled in each art, distinguished for his prowess and noble deeds, died in his own house at Lurgan, (in the barony of Farney,) on Easter night, and was interred at Clones.

The age of Christ, 1486, Philip son of the Coarb, (i.e., James son of Rury son of Ardgal) Mac Mahon a Canon chorister at Clogher, Coarb of Clones, Parson of Dartry, &c., died.

The age of Christ, 1490, Mac Donnell of Clann Kelly, i.e., Cormac the son of Art, a charitable and truly hospitable man, died, and was interred at Clones.

The age of Christ, 1502, James, son of Rury Mac Mahon, Coarb of Clones, died,

The age of Christ, 1504, Gilla Patrick O'Connolly (i.e., the son of Henry) abbot of Clones, died, after having obtained the bishopric of Clogher. (He died of the pestilence called *cluichi in righ*, i.e, the King's game.)

Rory Mac Mahon, Vicar of Clones, died.

The age of Christ, 1506, Thomas Boy Mac Cosgraigh, Erenach of Clones, died.

The following entries, on account of their general importance, and being more full than those usually found in the Annals, have been kept separate :—

The age of Christ, 836. The fifth year of Niall Caille. Dubhlitir Odhar, of Teamhair, was taken prisoner by the foreigners, who afterwards put him to death in his gyves, at their ships, and thus he fell by them! A fleet of sixty ships of Norsemen on the Boyne. Another fleet of sixty ships on the Abhainn-Liphthe (Liffey). These two fleets plundered and spoiled Magh-Liphthe (plain of the Liffey) and Magh Breagh, (in Meath), both churches and habitations of men, and goodly tribes, flocks, and herds. A battle was gained by the men of Breagh, over the foreigners in Mughdhorna-breagh (in East Meath), and six score of the foreigners were slain in that battle. A battle was gained by the foreigners at Inbhear-na-mbarc (near Bray?), over[all] the Ui Neill, from the Sinainn to the sea, where such slaughter was made as never before was heard of; however, the kings

and chieftains, the lords and toparchs, escaped without slaughter or mutilation. The churches of Loch-Eirne were destroyed by the foreigners, with CLUAIN-EOIS, and Daimhinis, &c.

The following notices of the castle erected by the English, and the English bishop of Norwich, are found in the same work. Of this building some remains still, or lately, existed; and some of the inhabitants speak of extensive subterraneous passages occasionally observed, which are supposed to have been connected with it.

The age of Christ, 1211. The Castle of Clones was erected by the English and the English Bishop, and they made a predatory incursion into Tyrone; but Hugh O'Neill overtook them, and routed and slaughtered them, and slew among others Meyler the son of Robert.

The age of Christ, 1212. The Castle of Clones was burnt by Hugh O'Neill and the men of the North of Ireland.

The writer has been thus prolix in the notices given of the early state of Clones, in consequence of the position it holds (though apparently an unimportant place) in the general history of Ireland; indeed, were a monograph of it prepared, it might serve as an epitome of the entire history of the country, both in its state of independence under its own chiefs, and as gradually reduced under British rule; the struggle made by its chiefs, the MacMahons, Normans become more Irish than the Irish themselves, against the introduction of English law and sheriffs; and its final forfeiture and division amongst new proprietors.

The CROSS is a good example of the sculptured crosses found in this country; and the illustration shows it as it stood some years ago, before the ruthless hand of party-spirit had mutilated a part of the circular head. It stands in the Diamond, as the market-place of Clones is called; the sides are divided into compartments containing rudely-sculptured subjects from Holy Writ, which are now difficult to decypher. They give an epitome of sacred history, commencing with our first parents in the garden of Eden, passing in regular gradation through the most remarkable events of the Old Testament, and terminating with the crucifixion. The dimensions are as follows:—Base, 3 feet; sculptured shaft, divided into three compartments, 8 feet; head, 4 feet; total height, exclusive of platform, 15 feet.

The only ancient ecclesiastical remains now existing are the walls of a small chapel on one side of the road leading to Coote-hill; they are built of square hewn freestone on the outside, and of limestone within: the remains of an ancient burying-ground are found in connection with these walls, which are well enclosed. It seems not improbable that the walls or chapel spoken of may be all that remains of the large building denominated "*a churche*" in the old map in the State Paper Office, and that the road now occupies a part of the site of the transept tower there shown; for it has evidently been cut through the grounds or yard of the church, severing from the portion just described the larger space now extensively used as a burying-ground by the parishioners, and at the opposite or western side of which the tower (called "a watch toure," in the map) stands. The map, it may be added, does not indicate that a cemetery existed here at the period when it was drawn (1591), a circumstance worthy, as before stated, of attention, when taken in connection with Dr. Petrie's opinion

that the human remains found in round towers are accounted for by the buildings having been erected in burial-grounds. In the present instance his view is disproved by the manner in which the inclosure wall of the grave-yard has been built, which does not include the tower *within* its lines, but cuts it in the direction of its diameter, so that one half of its base is within, and the other half projects beyond into an adjoining garden. In fact, the entire tower may be considered as distinct from the grave-yard, its eastern side only forming, as it were, a part of its enclosure. A confirmation of this is found in the fact that no objection was made to the inquiries made within the tower, though much anxiety was expressed by the lookers-on lest any disturbance of the cemetery itself should take place. The level of the soil in the garden above-mentioned is six feet and a half below that of the burial-ground, and shows what the surface was on which the tower was originally erected. Here two offsets—as is usual in such buildings—of nine inches each, can be traced projecting beyond the line of the shaft; but the half of them is concealed by the accumulated soil of the grave-yard. This evidently proves that instead of having been built originally in a cemetery, the soil of the latter, as now seen heaped up against one section of the building, must have been a subsequent raising of the level from frequent interments.

The tower when perfect must have been of considerable elevation, and an imposing example of this kind of architecture. As far as could be ascertained by several calculations made from the shadow at different periods of the day, the remaining portion is about 75 feet high above the foundation already mentioned, or sixty-eight feet and a half above the level of the burying-ground. At about five feet above the first offset the circumference measures fifty-one feet, and the thickness of the wall is three feet six inches to three feet seven inches. The interior diameter is nine feet, which is considerably more than the average of other towers examined. The door, which is quadrangular-headed, stands due east, and is eight feet above the level of the first offset, or three feet above the present level of the surface on that side of the building. This tower is considerably off the perpendicular, with a decided inclination towards the north, and has suffered a diminution in height by the falling of a portion of the upper part, where several stones, particularly on the west side, overhang so much as to lead to the impression that, unless some means are taken to secure them, another portion will before long be precipitated into the interior.

The persons present at the inquiry, besides the writer and Mr. Grattan, were the Rev. Mr. Welsh, Mr. Casebourne, C.E., and Mr. Dargan, brother to the well-known contractor, to whose kindness, indeed, the parties were indebted, not only for permission to make the necessary excavations, but for the services of a number of men, taken from the works of the Ulster Canal.*

The interior of the tower was filled up to within three feet of the sill of the door, that is, to the level of the burying-ground, or five feet above the first offset of the base, with remains of jack-daws'

* An interesting fact was mentioned by Mr. Dargan, that a labourer, employed in excavating the canal, was supposed to have found a gold pectoral cross; perhaps that worn by the abbot. The man decamped with his prize, and was not afterwards heard of. Those who saw the cross described it as large and massive.

nests, broken glass, human bones—probably thrown in from the grave-yard—horns of oxen, hair, leather, fragments of coffins—and stones, which had formed part of the roof and upper walls when the tower was perfect; these were mixed throughout with a rich dark mould formed from decomposed organic matter. All this was evidently an accumulation resulting from accidental introduction at periods subsequent to the erection of the building. Having cleared this away to the depth of three feet and a half, a well defined clay floor was uncovered (totally different from the material excavated previously) described by Mr. Casebourne as formed with puddled clay. This was broken through in the centre, and the excavation continued to the depth of eighteen inches farther, with no other result than laying bare, a few inches beneath the clay floor, two thin irregular-shaped flags, with traces of fire on their surface, and near them some remains of charcoal, or perhaps burned bones. In the earth thrown out a few fragments of thigh bones and other human remains were also remarked. A second floor was now discovered, formed by a *thin coat of lime;* it extended across the tower at the part where the first internal offset of the base occurred, on the same horizontal line as the first external one.

The removal of this *lime floor* was an operation of considerable difficulty, and attended with some delay, in consequence of the tenacity of the upper stratum of clay, and of the desire to use as much care as possible. An opening was then made in its centre, and, on excavating to a depth of fifteen or sixteen inches, the leg-bones of an adult person were found. In the hope of finding the skull and trunk lying towards the west, a commencement of removing the clay in that direction was made; at the distance, however, of less than a foot from the first opening, in a rather south-westerly direction, a skull was unexpectedly discovered, but so cracked and broken that it could not be saved entire. The fragment preserved was sufficient to show that the skull must have been that of a child not exceeding eight years of age, the permanent incisor teeth not having penetrated through the jaw.

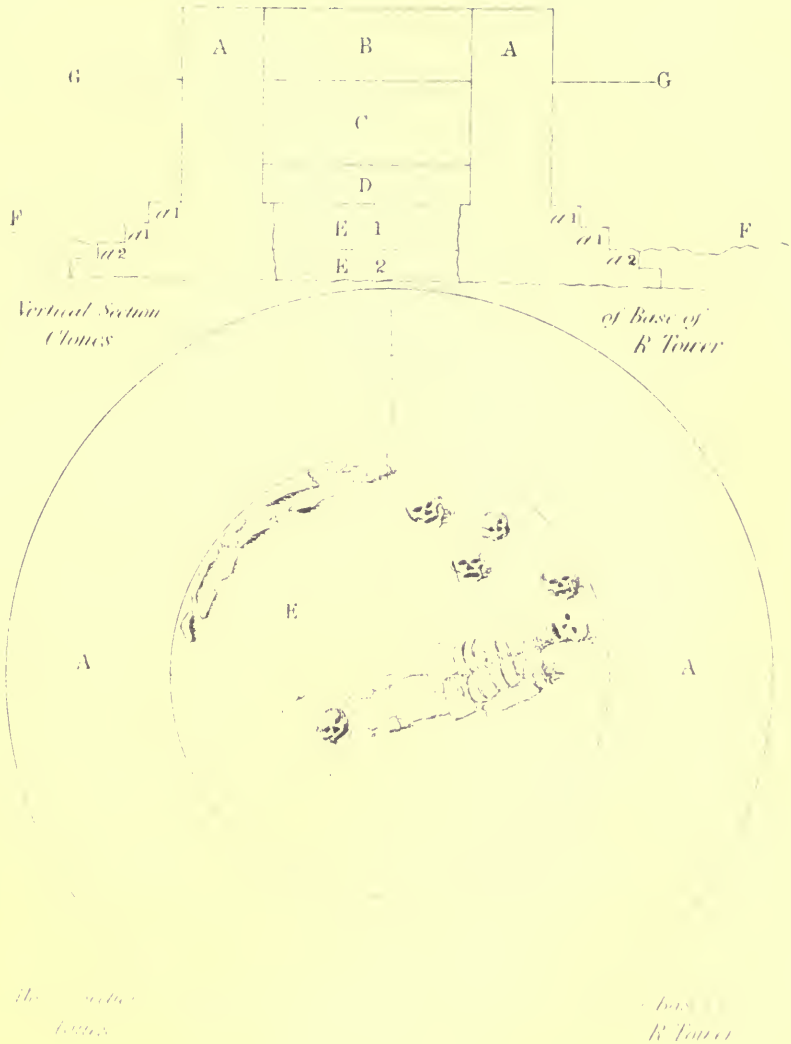
In consequence of the depth to which the operations extended it was found necessary to erect a scaffold or stage across the eastern side; and the western half was carefully examined from its southern to its northern boundary. Considerable human remains, in a state of very great decay, some of a child, some of adults, were thus exposed, especially at the northern extremity, where the bones of several lower limbs, a pelvis, feet, &c. were crowded together within the curve formed by the wall, and in close contact with the side, but without order or regularity. Having carefully examined one half to the depth of three feet, without meeting anything further, the stage was removed and the material upon which it had rested cautiously thrown upon the part already explored. Upon the same level with the child's skull and the other bones already detailed, and occupying, as nearly as possible, the north-eastern quarter of the floor, the remains of four skulls were reached, all greatly fractured, either by walking over them before the removal of the soil, or by the erection of the scaffold. They were so damaged that the exact position they lay in could not be correctly ascertained, although the relative position occupied by each was sufficiently perceptible. They

lay nearly as marked on the accompanying plan, and unconnected with the other remains; proving, as far as they were concerned, that it must have been human *bones*, and not *bodies*, that had been thus deposited. To the south of the fourth skull, and in close contact with it, lay a fifth, also broken into fragments, but connected with a complete spinal column and ribs, extending in the direction of the adult lower extremities found beside the child's skull: this had every appearance of having been interred before the integuments had been removed from the bones by decomposition. No pelvis, however, was found; but the bones generally were in such a state of decay, that it is quite possible that it may have crumbled away during the search. If the body had been deposited in a perfect state as supposed, the position was very different from that usually adopted at the present day, having a direction nearly N. by E., with the feet directed towards the south-west. One of the skulls was overlaid by a projecting portion of the offset, the interval between it and the others being in part filled up with moderate sized stones, as if so placed before the laying on of the projecting offset during the progress of the building. Indeed, there was no doubt on the part of the intelligent observers of the proceeding, some of them professional men, that the remains discovered must have been deposited in the position they occupied before the building had been carried up higher than the first offset. Mr. Grattan, who gave great attention to the inquiry throughout, was strongly impressed with an opinion that the walls, having been carried up to the height of the last offset but one, the remains were then deposited, the place filled in with clay to that level, the last offset then set on, the surface levelled and coated with lime, and the remainder of the building then proceeded with.

Along with the four skulls described, and under such circumstances as necessarily proved it to have been interred at the same time, a portion of a pig's or boar's jaw was discovered. It was in such a singular state of preservation that, when shown to Dr. Scoular, by Mr. Grattan, he declared his opinion that it could not have remained long in the ground; a conjecture which is valuable as a proof of the difficulty of determining their age from the mere inspection of such remains. Reference has been already made to doubts expressed of the age of the skull found at Drumbo tower, from its high state of preservation. Now, indisputably, the pig's jaw must have been as long here as the skulls with which it was found deposited, and they manifest all the characters of extreme antiquity; consequently, the difference in their present condition must be the result of original difference of individual structure. It is clear, therefore, that the fresh and sound condition of the Drumbo skull by no means proves it to be recent; no part of the skeleton being subject to greater varieties in density, solidity, and texture, than the skull, not merely in different races, but also in different individuals of the same race. The greater part of the fragments of the different skulls found on the present occasion were preserved, though unfortunately not all of them; no idea being entertained at the time that they could have been so satisfactorily put together as was afterwards found practicable. The perfect form of three has been preserved; a fourth, though not absolutely, is pretty nearly correct; and the posterior part of the child's is quite so. All these are deposited in

the Museum of the Natural History and Philosophical Society of Belfast; and, in a concluding chapter of these notices, their measurements, taken by the Craniometer, will be given, with such other information as Mr. Grattan's experience may suggest.

At the time of making the investigations, some notice of which has just been given, the writer was induced to inquire respecting a mode of sepulture practised at Clones, to which his attention had been drawn several years previously, when he first visited this interesting locality. The following note, taken at the time, contains the tradition connected with it, which now became a matter of increased interest: — "Among the tombs, in the



A. Walls of Tower.
B. Space between doorway and floor.
C. Stratum of *debris*, &c.
D. 1st Stratum of Clay.
E. The 2nd Stratum of Clay
1 separated from D by a floor of lime, in which the remains were found at the depth indicated by the line separating E 1 from E 2.
F. Level of ground in Garden.
G. Level of ground in Church-yard.
a a 1. Offsets visible externally.
a 2. Supposed continuation of Base.

burying-ground near the tower, is shown that of the McMahon family, once the powerful chieftains of this part of Ireland. The top of the sepulchre, which is above ground, is very heavy, and shaped like the roof of a house, with inscriptions on each of the sloping sides. The mode of sepulture, according to the tradition of the country, was curious. When the body of any of the family was brought hither for interment, it was taken out of the coffin and deposited in the tomb, and the empty coffin was buried in a separate place. A quantity of lime was then thrown over the body for the purpose of consuming it, and the roof of the tomb replaced, until it was taken off to admit another tenant." On pursuing the inquiry, it was stated by several intelligent persons, that the name of the family was MacDonnell, not McMahon, and that on several occasions the right of interment here had been litigated by parties claiming to be the lineal descendants of the original party. The bones found in the stone coffin, when a fresh interment is to be made, are carefully removed, and, being afterwards placed in a wooden coffin, wherein the *recent* body was brought to the grave-yard, are buried near the stone sepulchre. Several men who were in the crowd at the examination of the tower, affirmed that they had witnessed an interment here, where all the cermonies above-mentioned were strictly observed. It was considered the duty of the heir of the lately deceased person, after having cleared out the tomb by removing the bones, to raise the body of his relative, and, without any aid from others, to deposit it in its temporary resting-place. This occurred within the last fifteen years,* but it is not expected that any other similar interment will take place, as the person considered as the last lineal descendant of the family, which claimed this honour, is believed to have died lately in Scotland. His social position was little above that of a labourer, yet he clung pertinaciously to his right; the privilege in question having been a source of litigation and dispute between him and another individual until death, by carrying off his rival, left him the undisputed possessor, in reversion, of a barren honour, of which, in the hour of his own death, he knew his remains would be deprived. This singular mode of sepulture acquires increased interest when considered in connection with the discovery just made, of deposits of bones in the tower, and originates the conjecture that, for some reason not now to be explained, this building may have become the second place of interment of the remains of some important family, at an early period of history. It should be added, that several inscriptions have been defaced from the sloping sides of the tomb described. Some parties affirm this was done in consequence of disputes respecting the right of interment already alluded to.

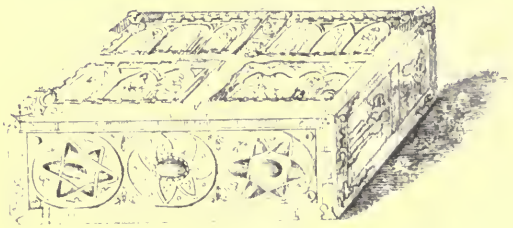
The family mentioned in the above notice is MacDonnell of Clankelly, whose territory lay in this neighbourhood; many entries having reference to individuals of this illustrious race are found in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and other records. The only one that bears decidedly on the present subject is here extracted:—

* i.e., within fifteen years of 1842.

The age of Christ, 1499, "MacDonnell of Cluan-Kelly, i.e., Cormac, the son of Art, a charitable and truly hospitable man, died, and was interred at Clones."

Dr. Petrie, in a paper on the "Domnach-Airgid," published in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*,* has given an ancient monastic seal, believed to have been made for Abbot John O'Carbrie, of Clones, who flourished in the fourteenth century. The name of the same ecclesiastic appears on the *cumdach* or case already mentioned, of which the drawing at foot is a correct representation. It is a shrine in the form of an oblong box, nine inches by seven, and five inches in height. A copy of the Gospels contained in it is believed, by the eminent antiquary referred to, to be "perhaps the oldest copy of the Sacred Word now existing." John O'Karbri is described as *comharb* of Saint Tighernach. He, as already mentioned, died in 1353. "As the form of the Cumdach," says Dr. Petrie, "indicates that it was intended to receive a book, and as the relics are all attached to the outer and least ancient cover, it is manifest that the use of the box as a reliquary was not its original intention. The natural inference, therefore, is, that it contained a manuscript which had belonged to Saint Patrick; and as a manuscript copy of the Gospels, apparently of that early age, is found within it, there is every reason to believe it to be that identical one for which the box was originally made, and which the Irish apostle probably brought with him on his mission into this country." Several ancient authorities exist in proof of Saint Patrick having made a gift of the "Domnach" to Saint Mac Carthen.

Carleton, in one of his most powerful tales, has described the superstitious use made of this relic, and in a note gives some curious information respecting it.†



* Vol. xviii., p. 25 of Antiquities.

† *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry.*

THE "CORRESPONDENCE LAW" OF ANCIENT IRISH POETRY:—
ITS PROBABLE ORIGIN.

BY JOHN O'BEIRNE CROWE, A.B.

THE eastern origin of the Celtic nations is now placed beyond reasonable doubt: the infallible deductions of sound philology have brought to light those great truths which have for ages been wrapped in the mist of Irish fable. Prichard, Pictet, Bopp, and Grimm, have each contributed his share to this satisfactory result, though to the first of these distinguished men it is chiefly due. Yet we must not pass by the labours of our own Celtic scholars at home, who have, though in a different sphere, done so much for the literary fame of ancient Ireland. The Irish Archæological and Celtic societies, both before and since their union, have, by their beautiful publications, deserved well of their country; and though the obscurity of the ancient dialect in which some of the originals are written renders it very difficult indeed to attain to a correct interpretation at present, still the way has been paved for succeeding scholars, who may have better opportunities for acquiring a critical knowledge of the old Hiberno-Celtic tongue. It would be invidious to mention names, but perhaps we may with propriety allude to the high honour lately conferred by the Academy of Berlin on our distinguished countryman, Dr. O'Donovan, who has been elected corresponding member of that body. The select character of the Academy, coupled with the name of the proposer—the celebrated Jacob Grimm—gives additional value to this honour; and we fervently pray that both Jacob Grimm and John O'Donovan may be long spared to follow up their distinguished labours.

Among the many fields of Celtic literature, which are as yet little explored, there is one which we think exceedingly remarkable and highly interesting—namely, that which has been called the *Correspondence Law* of ancient Irish poetry. At first sight, indeed, this law would seem to contain nothing very singular; but, after a close examination of it, we have no hesitation in saying that it presents some things worthy of attentive consideration. At any rate, it is certainly peculiar, inasmuch as nothing like it is known in any other poetry, even of the Celtic nations themselves. The peculiarity is this. Instead of ordinary rhyme, this law requires each couplet to terminate with the same vowel and a kindred consonant. The consonants thus considered as kindred, are classified by the bards in a particular manner, which can be best understood from the following article in Dr. O'Donovan's *Irish Grammar*, p. 415:—

"*Correspondence*," called in Irish *Comharda*. This has some resemblance to rhyme, but it does not require the corresponding syllables to have the same termination as in English rhyme.

To understand it perfectly, the following classification made of the consonants, by the Irish poets, must be attended to:—

1. *S*, called by the bards "the queen of consonants," from the peculiarity of the laws by which it is aspirated and eclipsed.

2. Three soft consonants, *p*, *c*, *t*.

3. Three hard, *b*, *g*, *d*.

4. Three rough, *f*, *ch*, *th*.

5. Five strong, *ll*, *m*, *nn*, *ng*, *rr*.

6. Seven light, *bh*, *gh*, *dh*, *mh*, *l*, *n*, *r*.

The Irish poets teach that the consonants exceed each other in power and strength, according to the above classification. They assert that *s* is the chief, or queen, of all consonants. Next after it they rank the three soft consonants, *p*, *c*, *t*, which exceed the succeeding classes in force and strength; likewise that the hard consonants excel the rough consonants, and the strong the light ones, which are reckoned the meanest and feeblest of all the consonants."

This classification of the consonants, it will be seen, partly coincides with that given by Greek grammarians, and partly not. As σ (*s*) is called by them an *independent* letter, so in this poetic syllabarium the same letter is styled the *queen* of consonants. Then we have in classes 2, 3, 4, the ordinary division of tenues, medials, and aspirates; but here the agreement ceases, though, it is true, that in class 5 we have the liquids under a strong form, but then we have also the additional sound *ng*. As for the sixth class it is apparently altogether anomalous, and so also are the characters given by the bards to classes 2 and 3, which they call respectively *soft* and *hard*. Hence it is, that Dr. O'Donovan, in a foot-note on the table, says:—"Nothing, however, is more certain than that the Irish poets are wrong in styling *p*, *c*, *t*, *soft* consonants, and *b*, *g*, *d*, *hard* consonants, for the latter class are undoubtedly the soft.....The entire classification is pretty correct, and founded on the nature of articulate sounds, except that the second and third classes are misnamed, and that *l*, *n*, *r*, which are liquids, should not, from the nature of articulate sounds, be classed with *bh*, *dh*, *gh*, *mh*." The Doctor is certainly right in one sense; but, after a further examination, we may be able to see the grounds on which these distinctions have been founded.

Having thus given this poetic syllabarium, together with some observations thereon, we now proceed to investigate the origin of the classification. We have examined this classification minutely, and being struck with the unusual collocation, we attempted to discover something to which it might be referred. We felt that the Irish bards could hardly have invented the arrangement: and, adopting the truth of the old proverb, that "there is nothing new under the sun," we compared it with other alphabets, Oriental and European. The Hebrew syllabarium, we found, could not by any

means have suggested it, neither could the Greek or Roman; though it has been pretty generally maintained that, anterior to the introduction of Christianity among us, we were wholly unacquainted with the use of letters. This assertion, we think, cannot, taking everything into account, be at all sustained, for there are several unanswerable arguments against it which we shall not stop here to recount. We admit, indeed, that the form of our Irish letters may be referred to the Roman alphabet, but this does not by any means prove that ancient Ireland received the use of letters from Rome. Some letters are similar in form in all alphabets; and we know that sometimes in one language two sets of characters are used by different writers, and even occasionally by the same writer. Thus, we find at present some German books printed in what we should call English or Roman letters, instead of the ordinary German characters; and the early Irish Christians may have found it convenient to adopt the Roman instead of their own more ancient forms. It is also an important fact, which we must always bear in mind, that ancient Irish tradition never ascribes the introduction of the use of letters among us to the Roman missionaries; and, though no reliance can perhaps be placed on what are called the *Bobel-loth* and *Beth-luis-nion* alphabets of the Irish writers, still the effort to trace them to a more ancient source than the Roman is in itself a valuable datum.

If, then, we cannot ascribe the poetic syllabarium of the Irish to either Greece or Rome, where shall we look for it? We have been for some time studying the Sanscrit, the sacred language of India, and we are now led to believe that from the alphabet of this language the Irish law of correspondence has been derived. The arrangement of this "wonderfully systematic alphabet," as Donaldson calls it, coincides in a remarkable degree with the classification of the Irish letters given above; and, though there is some discrepancy between the two, this may not invalidate the inference. The present classification of the Sanscrit alphabet is no earlier than the sixth or seventh century of the Christian era; but, we may well conclude, that even this late arrangement must be analogous to preceding ones. If the Irish bards, then, have taken their syllabarium from this, it is plain they must have taken it from a more ancient collocation than the present. Whether this collocation corresponded with the Irish syllabarium of which we are speaking, more closely than the present one or not, we will not discuss; but, it is highly probable it did. All we contend for is, that the bardic arrangement of the Irish consonants may be clearly discovered even in the present alphabet of the Sanscrit. We here give this alphabet in English characters, and the Irish syllabarium immediately under it.

SANSCRIT.*

Gutturals,	ka	:	kha	:	ga	:	gha	:	'na.
Palatals,	cha	:	chha	:	ja	:	jha	:	'na.
Cerebrals,	'ta	:	'tha	:	'da	:	'dha	:	na
Dentals,	ta	:	tha	:	da	:	dha	:	na.

* In order to effect the utterance of Sanscrit letters the short vowel *a* is always added to each.

Labials, pa : pha : ba : bha : ma.
Semivowels, ya : ra : la : va.
Sibilants & aspirates, 'sa : sha : sa. : ha.

IRISH.

1. Queen of consonants, s.
2. Soft consonants, p : c : t.
3. Hard, b : g : d.
4. Rough, f : ch : th.
5. Strong, ll : m : nn : ng : rr
6. Light, bh : dh : gh : mh : l : n : r

Before comparing the two formulas, we shall remark in reference to the Sanscrit, that, in the class called semivowels, *ya* and *va*, being consonantified vowels, should come together, and that *la* and *ra*, when proper consonants, should fall under the perpendicular line of liquids, the last in the table; while, as semivowels, they should be placed under the last but one, especially as the whole line in the Irish syllabarium, namely, class 5, corresponding to this last but one, become actual semivowels. As to the more ancient use of *la* and *ra* as vowels in Sanscrit, with this we have nothing to do at present; but taking with us the position which we have assigned those two letters, and reading the table in alternate perpendicular lines, beginning below and taking with the three first lines the order—labial, guttural, dental; and with the two last—semivowel, labial, guttural, dental;—we find the Irish poetic classification. It is true, indeed, that there are two letters, *mh*, and *n*, in the last class of the Irish, which are not found in the corresponding perpendicular line of the Sanscrit. But, it must be observed, that *m* in Sanscrit, bears a very close resemblance in form to *bh* in the same language, and that *mh* in Irish is often found for *bh* in Sanscrit, as *nabha*=heaven, (Sans.) *neamh* (Ir.) Also that *d* and *n* are cognate letters, the one being frequently used for the other in Irish, and that one form of the *n* in Sanscrit is precisely the same as the cerebral *d*, except that to the former a kind of dot or *anusvara* mark is added.

We come now to the characteristic names given to each class of the Irish syllabarium, such as—"queen of consonants;" "soft," "hard," &c. The first, as we have said above, is analogous to the title given by Greek grammarians to the letter σ (*s*), though different in application. Class 2 is called "soft," and class 3 "hard," the exact converse of what might be deemed appropriate. We believe the terms *hard* and *soft* have arisen from the fact, that in ancient manuscripts *b*, *d*, *g*, are always found in their hard or primitive form, while *p*, *c*, *t*, often from their position become *ph*, *ch*, *th*; that is, when they are aspirated, as it is called. [See *O'Donovan's Grammar*, p. 42.] But though *b*, *d*, *g*, are thus invariably written, it is almost certain they were pronounced as *bh*, *dh*, *gh*, in those positions where the modern language requires aspiration. [See *Zeuss, Gram. Celt.*, p. 231.] With regard to the remaining classes, the epithets are quite intelligible and founded on the law of articulate sounds

An interesting point, however, is the superiority assigned to certain classes over others. Thus, class 2 exceeds all the rest in power and strength; class 3 exceeds class 4; and class 5 exceeds class 6. The origin of this distinction we believe to have been founded on the nature of primary and aspirate letters, as well as on the collocation of these in the Sanscrit syllabarium, and, as we conceive, in the following manner:—

Leaving out the sibilant *s*, we find that the first perpendicular set in the Sanscrit corresponds to the first in the Irish syllabarium. This set would, of course, be the first and the strongest of all the sets: then would come—*weak, strong—weak, strong*. In this manner we have a regular alternation representing the order of the strength and power of the Irish letters. The primaries are all strong, the aspirates all weak, and each class exceeding in strength that immediately following it. It is quite natural that the "aspirates," being derivatives, should be weaker than the "tenues" and "medials" from which they are derived; for "all aspiration," as Donaldson says, "is approximate sibilation," and this we believe to be the foundation of the Bardic rule.

But perhaps the strongest argument in favour of our theory is, that while in Greek and Hebrew we have only one order of aspirates—namely, the "surds," the second perpendicular column of the Sanscrit syllabarium,—we have an additional order—namely, the "sonant," in Sanscrit and Irish, the fourth perpendicular line. It cannot be urged against us that this latter order has no separate characters to express it as the Sanscrit has, for neither also have the surd aspirates. Indeed, we are persuaded, that aspirates in all languages are of late origin, and had originally been expressed by the primary with some conventional sign, as at present, in Irish. Thus, in Arabic, aspiration is occasionally made precisely as in Irish, by placing a point above the letter. In course of time a new character would be invented, but resembling, as we see it does in Sanscrit, the primary; and those letters which, from their position, would sometimes be pronounced as primaries and sometimes as aspirates, would become fixed under one form or the other. This fluctuation between primary and aspirate would then cease. In this latter state, with a few exceptions indeed, we find the Sanscrit as it is now written: in the former and earlier stage we find all the Celtic languages, the same consonant in the same word being sometimes aspirated and sometimes not.

Again, the arrangement of the mutes in this poetic syllabarium corresponds, taking the alternation above alluded to, exactly with that of the Sanscritic, the tenues coming first and the medials last; while in Greek and Hebrew the very reverse is the case.

Taking all these coincidences into account, together with the acknowledged affinity between the Celtic languages and the Sanscrit, we are forced to believe that the ancient syllabarium of the Irish bards was founded upon some eastern alphabet, introduced into Ireland long before Roman letters: and, consequently, that Forchern, after all, *may* have written his *Primer of the Irish bards* in the first century of the Christian era.

TWO UNPUBLISHED DIARIES

CONNECTED WITH THE

BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

THE late publication of the third and fourth volumes of *Macaulay's History of England* has fixed the attention of the reading public throughout the British Empire on those eventful scenes of the Revolution of 1688 which were enacted in Ireland, and with which Ulster was particularly connected. Although the war of opinions, that had agitated the three kingdoms for a century before the Battle of the Boyne, eventuated by that victory in the establishment of civil liberty and popular rights as regarded England and Scotland, it unfortunately assumed in Ireland afterwards, and as a consequence, the form of bitter sectarian animosity, which the lapse of a century and a-half has not altogether allayed. Yet a dispassionate perusal of history must convince the reader that the victory of the Boyne was *not* gained for the purpose of establishing Irish Protestant ascendancy on the one hand, or of perpetuating Irish Roman Catholic depression on the other; but, that these results followed from the intrigues of the defeated Jacobites with the French king, to restore the exiled Stuarts, even to the extent of submitting themselves to be the mere tools and creatures of France: and in which they made use of the Ultra Roman Catholic party in Ireland, just as they did the Ultra or High Church party in England. The Irishman, no matter what may be his particular religious or political creed, should remember the events of the Boyne with no more feelings of political rancour or of sectarian triumph than an Englishman would those of Naseby, or a Scotchman those of Langside, or Bothwell Bridge. Acting on that principle, the writer of this article proceeds to lay before his readers some extracts from the MSS. of two of the participators in the events of that day. These MSS. do not throw any new light on the proceedings of William's army, yet possess considerable interest, by giving us glimpses of the camp-life of that time, and by their matter-of-course references to persons and to events of which we now speak or think with a reverence almost classical. Nearly all the traditions and anecdotes, whether personal or local, connected with the battle, have been already collected and given to the world by Dr. Wilde, in his entertaining volume on the river Boyne, and have been carefully assorted and re-set by Macaulay, in the bright jewellery of his narrative; who has also availed

himself of many MS. Diaries and other sources of information previously unpublished. He was, however, unaware of the existence of the MSS. now presented to the reader, which have a farther claim of local interest by their references to Belfast,—then a village of some 300 houses.

One of these papers has been discovered in the British Museum, by Mr. Pinkerton, a frequent and talented contributor to this Journal, who gives the following account of the MS. and its author: —"Among the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum, there is one (1033 Plut., lxxxviii. A.) labelled on the back—"Bonnivert's Journey," though the MS. itself affords no clue to the writer's name or station. There can be little doubt, however, that he was one of the French refugees who followed the fortunes of the third William; indeed the orthography and idiom of the MS. fully justify this conclusion. By some of his letters to Sir Hans Sloane, preserved in the same collection, I find that his Christian name was Gideon. He seems to have been a person of observation, and to have had a taste for natural history, and particularly for botany; and this probably caused his acquaintance with Sloane. To the MS. in question he has appended some neat pen-and-ink sketches of a quern, a mether, and some other equally curious Irish household utensils. He fought at the Boyne, and gives a brief account of that memorable battle; and, as I am not aware that his MS. has ever been printed, a few extracts from it may be acceptable; the more so, as from having been in that division of William's army which first "crossed the water," at the Upper Ford of Slane, under the command of Count Ménard de Schomberg, he describes the part of the battle which he saw, and which is least described by historians." So far Mr. Pinkerton's preface. It is only to be added, that it is evident that Bonnivert has compiled his "Journey" partly from a diary, and partly, perhaps, from memory, as he slightly errs in some localities and dates, which we have corrected by the words inserted in brackets; and that he intended it for the perusal of others. His "Journey" is therefore very different from the other MS. about to be presented to the reader, which is a day-by-day memorandum, and never intended for the eye of any one but the writer, of whose feelings and inner man it appears to be a faithful reflex. This diary has been furnished by the kindness of Richard Caulfield, Esq., of Cork, a zealous archæologist, who has already rescued several curious and valuable documents from oblivion.* The autobiographer in it is the Rev. Rowland Davis, who was a person of good family and connection in Munster. His name appears in the general Act of Attainder passed against Protestants by the parliament assembled by James II. in Dublin. He, along with many other Protestants of Munster, fled to England in March 1689; at which time his diary commences. He remained in England, leading a very unsettled life, until May 1690, when, having got a commission as captain (although a clergyman) in William's army, he sailed for Belfast; and, having remained with his regiment there until the arrival of William, in the next month, marched with it to the Boyne: being also attached to the right wing, under

* Author of *Sigilla Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ Illustrata*. See Vol. 2 of this Journal, p. 199.

the Count de Schomberg, he, as well as Bonnivert, was among those who crossed at the fords and bridge of Slane, and, by maintaining their ground and engaging the cavalry of the enemy, allowed William to cross with his centre comparatively unopposed. Dr. Davis was subsequently at the sieges of Waterford, Limerick, and Cork. He was promoted in 1709 to the Deanery of Cork, died in 1721, and is interred in the cathedral of Cork, in or near which city his representatives continue to reside. As his stay in Belfast was more prolonged, and his references are more minute and curious, than Bonnivert's, and may require some annotations or explanatory remarks, we propose to give the *pas* to the Frenchman, and then to take up his reverence, whose "pencillings" are certainly most amusing both as regards the manners of the day and his own thoughts and actions.

BONNIVERT'S JOURNEY.

"I came out of London the 6 June, 1690, and layn at St. Alban's We were to guard 5 carriadges loaded with two hundred and fifty thousand pounds for the pay of the army in Ireland."—

At Newport Pagnel the escort was relieved by a troop of dragoons, and Bonnivert obtained leave to visit a friend at Litchfield: subsequently rejoining his party, he sailed from Highlake on the 18th of June. On the following day, he tells us:—

"We came between three islands and a town called Donahadee, which is a markett town, and seems a good pretty one. We left it at our right and Copplen Islands at our left. [It should be the very contrary.] We saw after that at our left the village call'd Bangar, which is but a small one, but very fitt for vessels to come to the very sides of it; both sides are very rocky. That small village is famous for Duke Schomberg landing there, with the forces under his command. Upon your right you see the Castle of Carrickfergus, which is a strong place; we took it last year and lost no great quantity of men. We landed at the white house, [five days after the landing of King William,] where we saw on our arrival a great number of poor people. We went that night to Belfast, which is a large and pretty town; and all along the road you see an arm of the sea on your left, and on the right great high rocky mountains, whose tops are often hidden by the clouds, and at the bottom a very pleasant wood, very full of simples of all sorts.

"The town is a seaport, there is in it the King's Custom house, and you see, hard by it, a very long stone bridge, which is not yett finisht. [The old Long Bridge, pulled down in 1840.] The town is compass'd round about it with hills. The people very civill, and there is also a great house belonging to my Lord Donegall, Ld Chichester, with very fine gardens and groves of ash trees. The inhabitants speak very good English. We stay'd there two days and three nights, and we went thence on Tuesday being the 23d [Tuesday was the 24th] of June to Lisbourne, where there is a great house and good gardens belonging now to my Lady Mulgrave; it was left her with the whole estate wch is worth £14,000 per annum by my Ld Canaway; the house is out of repair.

There's a markett kept there on that day. Wednsday the 24th [25th] we set forth betimes in ye morning, resolved to join our army which was then encamped at Loughbrickland. (We pass'd by Hillsborough, a great house belonging to the King,* standing on a hill on the left hand of the road; and from thence we went to Drummore, hard by that place is the Bishopp's house.) The success answered our expectation, tho' we had a very hard and troublesome day's work. At our arrival, our friends show'd joy in their faces to see us come amongst them, and each of us went to his respective tent. Thursday the 26th of June, we march'd at two of the clock in the morning and went over the high hills to Newry. 'Tis not to be imagin'd how strong naturally many passages are that way; and, besides that, many strong tho' small forts, made by King James, which might have ruined most part of our army, with the loss but of fewe of his own. That day was the first of my seeing the King rideing in Irish Land, and he had then on an orange colour sash. We crossed the river at Newry, which was formerly a strong place, but now burnt and destroyed, and encamped upon the side of a hill, where water was very scarce. We left Dundalk on our left hand, it stands by the sea, and we encamp'd in very ruggid ground. The Inniskilling Dragoons came there to us. They are but middle-sized men, but they are nevertheless brave fellows. I have seen them like masty [mastiff] dogs run against bullets.

"Saturday, the 28th, we were taken 15 men out of each squadron to go with a detachment of 1200 men to Ardagh, [Ardee,] where we heard the late king's army was; the rest of our army stay'd behind till the Sunday following. Just as we came within sight of the town, we saw the dust rise like a cloud upon the high-way beyond it. It was the enemy's arriere-garde, scowreing away with all speed. Some dragoons were detach'd to follow them, who brought back two or three prisoners

* This was "Hillsborough Fort," which still remains. It was built by Sir Arthur Hill, son of Sir Moses, in 1641-2, for the security of himself and his adherents. It commanded the "Pass of Kilwarlin," the chief road between Dublin and Belfast, and consisted of four bastions. In December 1660 it was made a Royal Garrison, with a Constable to command the same at 3s. 4d. per day, and 24 Warders at 6d. each. The office of Constable was granted to the Hill family for ever. The Warders, or Castle-men, as they are called, still wear the uniform of the Dutch Guards, viz., blue coat with red lappels, cocked hat bound with silver lace, and a red feather, white breeches, gaiters, &c. This uniform has been lately a good deal modernised.—The accompanying illustration gives a tolerably good idea of the present appearance of the Fort.

HILLSBOROUGH FORT,
Where William III. slept in 1690.

and many heads of cattle. We encamp'd on this side of the town the Saturday; and the Sunday after, our army coming to us, we marched on the other side of the river, where we encamped in a corn field by a small ruin'd village. The town of Ardagh [Ardee] is seated in a very pleasant soil, and has been a fine and strong burrough, as one may see by ye great towers still extant. King James made there very strong works, as if he would have made it a place to with stand our army; and indeed it is a strong seated town, being in a plain, having a fine river of one side and boggs of the other. Monday, the last of June, we marched towards Drogheda, where the enemy were, and we came within sight of the town at 9 in ye morning. There we drew up our horse in three lines, and came in order of battle upon the brow of a long hill. There we saw the enemy, and were so neare them that we could heare one another speak, there being nothing but the river between us. As we were drawn up we had order to dismount, and every man stand by his horse's head. We had not been there long, but some of the King's regiment of dragoons were detach'd, and sent to line the river side: so they began to shutt at the enemy, and those of King James's army at them. They had not been long at that sport, when the King, passing by the first troop of his guards, the enemy fir'd two small guns at him. One of the bullets greas'd the king's coat: then they played on till three of the clock upon us, and shott a few men and horses. One Major Williams of the 3 troop of guards had his arm shott. Some of ye Dutch troop were killed and wounded. Indeed 'twas a madness[a] to expose so many good men to the slaughter without needs, for we had no artillery yet come to answer theirs. Ours not commencing till 3 in the afternoon. We did retire confusedly behind the hill at the sight of the enemy, when it might have bin better manadged. King James made that day a review of his army. We had a great mind to force a passadge through the river to go to them, but we left it till next morning. At 3 in the afternoon our artillery came up, and began to play upon theirs stoutly, then the enemy showed they had many other batteries besides the first. They play'd upon one another till night, then we retired above a mile side ways. Next morning we were up at two of the clock, and we march'd to gain a passage, two miles off, about 5 in the morning. The passage was a very steep hill, and a shallow river at the bottom. That leaded into a very fine plain. As we came there, we found a party of the enemy, with four or five pieces of artillery, ready to receive us, but that did not daunt our men, they went down briskly, notwithstanding their continual fire upon us. The grenadiers and dragoons were first at the other side, and we soon followed them, but the enemy made haste away, with their cannon. We drew up in battle as we came in the plain, and marched directly toward the place appointed for the battle. After some houres, we saw the enemy comming down a turning between two hills, wch we knew by the rising of the dust; and by and by they shew themselves in their best colours, for they drew up upon a line only, and our army was upon three. Wee looked upon one another, who should come first, but at

[a] *Note by Mr. Pinkerton.* There was method in this madness, however. William wanted to let his untried English soldiers smell gunpowder, and to learn himself how far he could depend on them. When the order was given for them to retire behind the hill, he said—"It is all right, they stand fire well."

last we seeing that their foot and baggage was running away, and that the King had engaged their right, we marched towards them over ditshes and tranches. They presently retir'd behind a little town called Duleek, where they fired three or four peeces at us; we kill'd abondance of their men, and pursued the rest till nine of the clock, then we overtakeing them, and haveing too hotly pursued them were almost upon them, when they faceing about made as if they had been willing to receave us, but we, haveing left our foot and cannon behind, and considering how late it was, made halt. They fir'd for an houre and half, small shot very thick upon us, for they had hid partly in bushes. That day we had all some green on our hats, to know one from the other. At last our cannon came and play'd very smartly upon them, till the night comming they retir'd, and so did we; we lay'n in the plow'd lands, and had no tents. That day we lost Duke Schomberg and Dr. Walker, Governour of Londonderry. They were killed in forcing that passage. The King himself pass'd that way. Next day we stay'd encamp'd by that place, and there was a Popish gentleman's house plundr'd by us. Thursday being the 3d of July, we came neare a fine house, belonging to a papist, where we encamp'd, and where I fell sick of a violent fever."

There is nothing further of interest in Bonnivert's MS. It concludes leaving him in winter quarters, "between Lisnegarvey and Lurgan, in the parish of Ballanderry."

We will now take up the Diary of the Rev. Dr. Davis; and, as our labours are limited to the publication of matters connected only with the archæology of Ireland, and more particularly that of Ulster, we must pass over the part of his Diary which has reference to his fourteen months of exile in England; but we regret this the less as we understand it is about to be published by the Camden Society. It gives a very curious picture of clerical life and manners at that time, and is quite confirmatory of Macaulay's view of the subject. We find the same unabashed solicitation and reception of alms, combined with a simplicity of manners, and an absence of that tact, (or praiseworthy worldliness if you will), which causes the clerical body now-a-days to maintain their self-respect in every situation into which a varied life may throw them. We must pass by the shrewd remarks of the author on the demeanour of William at his coronation, (of which Davis was an eye-witness,) his visit to Evelyn, and the immortalised gardens at Deptford; his visit to Greenwich, and the famous astronomer Flamsteed. We must also omit his own little civil war and domestic rebellion, when his wrath is excited by his landlady's remonstrances as to his spitting delinquencies about the house; from whence we infer that he was a devotee of the "Indian weed"—as we learn more directly from his memoranda that he was no disciple of the old physician who asserted that water was the best of drinks. We will therefore take up the Narrative from the date of his landing at the "White House," omitting those days whereon nothing occurred to vary the routine of his camp life—his parades, his walks, his dinners, and his suppers. Many of his allusions will be suggestive of strange comparisons between Belfast and its neighbourhood at the present

day with what he describes it then to have been; and many will ask themselves or their friends where can the localities have been to which he alludes? Perhaps the perusal may stimulate Archæological inquiry, and procure us hereafter some traditional information for which we are at present at a loss. The reader will observe that, under the date of the 31st May, the Diarist conveys a pretty strong inuendo against the total-abstinence habits of the "immortal Walker." This presents that hero to us under a totally new aspect, very different from that under which we have imagined him when cooped up within the walls of Derry, suffering from hunger, and not the less suffering from the shafts of malignity and envy. Walker, indeed, appears to have been very different from Davis in character and disposition;—energetic, uncompromising, zealous, (overmuch some think,) and casting in his lot unto the death with those brave men who, having secured civil and religious freedom to Britain by the defence of Derry, now came to Belfast to assist their deliverer in establishing similar benefits *if possible* in Ireland: whilst Davis, flying from his country, wasted his time in the pleasures of a London life, at the very juncture when Walker was defying slaughter, famine, and disease, within the walls of Derry. To such a man Walker's zeal in William's cause must have appeared little short of madness; and, it is probable that, at this very time, his charges against the Commissariat for its neglect of Schomberg's army at Dundalk, had brought him (just like our "S. G. O.," and "Times Correspondent") into bad odour with the red-tapists of the day. Even admitting Walker to have been in a pleasing state of excitement when met by Davis, we can readily excuse him when we contrast his feelings on that fine Saturday evening in May, 1690, with what they were ten months before, when hunger and disease within, or a bloody death without, the walls of Derry seemed his only alternatives. Walker had come to Belfast to be with his own Derry regiments; two of which had already been entered on the regular lists of the King's army, the third being as yet only a volunteer corps, though added to the regular army on the march to the Boyne, where their beloved leader was fated, by his own uncalled-for rashness, to lose the life he had so freely perilled.[b]

Belfast at that time, and for nearly a year before, had been the scene of a bustle and excitement unwonted in that little obscure village, whose name was scarcely known beyond the boundary of its own hills. On the 14th August, 1689, Schomberg had landed 10,000 men at Bangor and Groomsport, as Belfast and Carrickfergus were still in the hands of James's army. The unfinished "Long Bridge" must have greatly facilitated his approach to Belfast and its subsequent capture, to be immediately followed by that of Carrickfergus. It is well known that the weight of Schomberg's

b Macaulay's remarks on Walker's demeanour and doings from the time he was received in triumph in London, after the Siege of Derry, until his death, though severe, are just:—"He ought to have remembered that the peculiar circumstances which had justified him in becoming a combatant had ceased to exist; and that in a disciplined army, led by generals of long experience and great fame, a fighting divine was likely to give less help than scandal. The Bishop Elect" [Walker having been appointed Bishop of Derry by William six days before his fall at the Boyne] "was determined to be wherever danger was; and the way in which he exposed himself excited the extreme disgust of his royal patron, who hated a meddler almost as much as a coward."—"He thought him a busy-body, who had been properly punished for running into danger without any call of duty."—*Macaulay*, vol. III., pp. 626 and 635.

cannon crossing the new and unseasoned arches of the bridge caused many of them to sink and crack, and that the effects were quite visible until its final demolition in 1840.[c]

In the course of the Autumn, the miserable remnants of Schomberg's army returned to Belfast for Winter quarters.[d] In the meantime the little town had become the Balaklava and Scutari of that army. Here all reinforcements and stores were landed, and to it the sick were sent round from Dundalk by sea; so that when Schomberg reached Belfast in November he found that, in addition to the 2,000 who had died in camp at Dundalk, 2,762 had died in the great hospital at Belfast,[e] and 900 had died at sea in their passage round.[f]

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[c] In the old maps of the county Down, the road which winds, with some pretensions to engineering, up the Holywood hills from Strandtown, is named "King William's road." It leads directly to the cross-roads at the "Cairn," and joins what was, and still is, a direct and leading road from Bangor to Belfast by Dundonald, but which has a tremendously steep descent at Dunlady-hill. Besides having a less precipitous descent, King William's road diminishes the distance to Belfast by a mile at least; and the writer has always been of opinion that it must have been made to facilitate the transport of Schomberg's artillery. That Schomberg exercised his engineering abilities on roads in the North, the following curious entry in the old Vestry Books of Lurgan will prove:—"At a vestry held at ye p^ish church of Shankill for ye s^d p^ish on Easter munday April 21th 1690.

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"The high waies being already in great p^t amended by ord^rs of General Schomberg, we agree that ye former overseers be continued this yeare to take [care] of ye remaining p^t of ye s^d high waies yett unmended.

"Wm. Brereton.
Ar Brownlowe.
John Gill
Henery Dorner.
John Porter"

[d] There were grumblers in Britain in those days as well as in the present; and, if we except the charge made against some in power of "going snacks" with the Contractor, we have only to read Crimea for Ireland and Raglan for Schomberg, to imagine we have before us an article from one of last year's newspapers, when reading the following extract from Harris's life of King William, (p. 254. Edit. of 1719):—"The Commons being informed that Duke Schomberg's army was scarce 14,000 strong, though there were 23,000 upon the establishment, desired the King to appoint Commissioners to go and inquire into the condition of the army on the spot. . . The Duke being informed that his conduct was called in question even in the Parliament itself, acquainted the King with the reasons that had oblidged him to keep [entrench himself in] his camp upon the approach of King James; alledging his army had never exceeded 12,000 effective men, most of them newly raised—that the army had always wanted bread, the horses shoes and provender, and the surgeons and apothecaries proper medicines for the sick. This account was confirmed by Mr. Lumly and Count Solms, who reported further that abundance of men and horses had been swept away by sickness, and want of food or clothing; that several officers had occasioned their own deaths by drinking Irish Usquebaugh to excess; that the miscarriages in Ireland were wholly to be charged on Mr. John Shales, Purveyor-General of the army, who had borne that office under King James; and upon that account was suspected of dishonest practices upon King William; and that Duke Schomberg's landing had caused so general a consternation among the Irish, that he might have marched directly to Dublin if he had not wanted provisions and a train of artillery. Dr. Walker also acquainted the Commons with these things. Whereupon they addressed the King that Shales might be taken into custody, and in Dec. he was secured, sent under a strong guard to Belfast, and from thence a prisoner to London. But we find no further proceedings against him; so that possibly he had powerful confederates, who went sharers with him in the profits of his corrupt management, and whom he threatened to detect in order to screen himself."

[e] Can any of our readers furnish any information, traditionary or otherwise, as to the site of this great hospital at Belfast? All traces of it have long since vanished.

[f] In a field, the property of John Harrison, Esq., in the townland of Knocknagoney, and about a mile from the village of Holywood, a spot is pointed out where the tradition of the country is "that a whole ship-load of people who had died of the plague are buried." It has always forcibly struck the writer that this must be the place of sepulture of some of Schomberg's unfortunate army. It is on the edge of what would then have been a bog, and is now a swampy meadow, where the soil could have been speedily and easily excavated; distant even yet from any houses, though not more than about a quarter of a mile from the nearest landing-place for a boat from any ship lying in the pool of Garmoyle; where for half the time of tide a large boat could come to shore, and where, until the late improvements were made at the quays of Belfast, vessels invariably sent in their water-casks, to be filled at Tilly's Burn. We have no record of any plague or epidemic, such as we know at two periods during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to have devastated England, having occurred to a similar extent in Ireland, and there appears no other way of accounting for the tradition but as has been suggested.

During the Winter and Spring troops of all nations—Danes, Dutch, French, Germans, Brandenburghers, English, and Scotch, all poured into Belfast, and were encamped at several spots between Belfast and Lisburn. The particular cavalry regiment to which Davis was attached seems to have been quartered at Malone; and we will now proceed to introduce him to his quarters.

1690. DAVIS'S DIARY.

May 10.—About 11 at night came on shore at the White House.

11.—About 2 in the morning, the tide being out, we landed and unshipped our horses and rode to Belfast, where having refreshed ourselves a little, we went to the Lieut. Coll^{s} Q^{rs}, but he being at Lisburn to wait on the General, I went and dined with Capt. South. In the afternoon we went again to Malone and there met an order to march towards Armagh, in order to besiege Charlemont to morrow; but in the evening our Lieut.-Col. assured us that he had gotten us 2 days respite. They rec^{d} me very kindly and assigned me Q^{rs} where Capn. Lieut. Neville was before, and so we lay together this night.

12.—I went with the Lieut.-Col., Major, and several other officers to Belfast, where we dined at Mrs. Rook's at my expense of 5s. 6d. There I saw Capt. Barrow, and rec^{d} an acc^{t} from him of the capitulation for the surrender of Charlemont, which I sent to the A. Bishop of Tuam and Alan Brodrick, as also the defeat of the Highlanders by John Levingston at Inverness.

13.—I went to dinner with the Major to his Q^{rs} at the widow Webb's; it is a pretty seat near the Lagan's side, 2 miles and half from Belfast, and very well improved in all things but the house. The widow is a well humoured woman but not handsome, but they say very rich. In the evening I visited the Col. on his return [from Lisburn] and supped with him.

14.—This morning Charlemont was surrendered. After dinner we all went to Belfast, to wait on Brigadier Stewart, with whom we staid till 1 o'clock, at the Eagle and Child, and then came home.

16.—I went to Lisburn with the Col., Major Palmer, Cap^{n} South, &c.—We waited on the Duke [Schomberg] to whom the Col. presented me. We dined at Mrs. Purdon's for 3s. 6d. After dinner I visited Dean Wilkins and offered to preach there the next Sunday, but his pulpit was pre-engaged.

17.—The Col. sent to Belfast and engaged me to preach to-morrow there. I dined with him, and after dinner spent the remainder of the day walking and shooting with him and Lieut. Norton. I preached at Belfast on Proverbs, 18. I walked thither and back to the Major's Qrs. where I dined with the Earl of Meath, my Lieut. Col., Sr Chas Fielding, Sr John Topham, R. Pooly, &c. With them I spent this evening. At night Lieut. Blakeney came to the Col. and give us an acc^{t} of Ballynacarig.[a] Col. Oosly [Wolseley] on the 12th ad-

[a] *Ballynacarrig*, a stronghold on the borders of Westmeath and Longford. Wolseley having landed in the preceding year at Derry, had relieved the garrison of Enniskillen, and fought the Battle of Newtownbutler so graphically sketched by Macaulay, and was now advancing to place himself between Dublin and Athlone.

1690.

vanced there with a detached party of 600 men, in hope to have surprised that garrison, being but 200 men. There, viewing the place, he was shot thro the scrotum, and thereby forced to return and leave the command to Colonel Fowlke, who, passing a river almost up to his arm-pits, with about 30 men, first beat the enemy out of an orchard, and then bringing down the rest with some faggots to fill up the trench. The enemy surrendered the place on condition that they might have their lives without arms. The Colonel exposed his person freely and so did Charles Oliver. We lost a Danish captain—Du Bois—of Chas. Fowlkes' regiment, and 4 volunteers; whereof P. Mallery was one, and about 30 soldiers; but the place being taken, 20 Enniskillen men were put into it as a garrison.

19.—Our regt drew out to exercise, and my horse being lame by a kick near his knee, I rode a horse of F. Burton's, with whom I went to Belfast, and dined at Bettinger's with Capt. Sybourg and Major Perdrian. We viewed the town in boats and bought a deal board to make tent-poles, &c.

20.—We all went to see the meeting-house at Dun Murray in order to employ it, to-morrow being our fast day. We dined at Mr. Therry's, being Capt. South's Qrs, and came home early. In the evening my brother [brother-in-law] Aldworth came to me and staid all night

21.—I went in the morning to the meeting-house at Dun Murray, where the regt met, and I preached to them on 2 Cor. 5, 20.

25.—I went in the morning to Lisburn and preached before the General on John 15, 14. I dined with Dean Wilkins; and after evening service sat a while with some of our Munster men that I met there, and among them was Capn Sterne.[h] In the evening I returned and supped at Capn South's Qrs this day. We had an acct that the enemy had quitted Navan, Ardee, Castle Blaney, and several other places, all which they burnt, and drove the Protestant inhabitants away before them; and also that a party of Col. Oosly's men had made an incursion into the the enemy's Qrs as far as Kells, and brought off a considerable prey of cattle.

28.—I went with the Col. to Lisburn, who presented my brother Aldworth to the Duke, and then offered to take out a new Commission for me, but the Duke refused it, because he said the King's was better; but complimented me about my sermon. I dined with Cornet Pooly, my Col., Capn Forenet, Capn Harvey, &c.: it cost me here 2s. 6d.

30.—I walked to Belfast and dined with the Col., Major, and several others, at Mrs. Rourke's. After dinner Capn Bellingham[i] came to us, being newly arrived from Liverpool, and gave us an acct that the Parliment was adjourned on Tuesday last; and the horse guards marched from

[h] *Captain Sterne.*—Could this have been the father of Lawrence Sterne, the author of *Tristram Shandy?* We know that he was an officer in William's army, and a settler in Munster.

[i] *Captain Bellingham.*—The officer here mentioned was in close attendance on King William during the whole of his campaign in Ireland. Extracts from his excellent Diary have been published in several works, and it is frequently referred to by Macaulay in his History. An extract, giving his version of the battle of the Boyne, will be found at the end of the present article.

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London; that his Majesty was speedily to move thence towards us, and will bring with him 40,000, and that all the army in Engd are paid off to the 1st instant. I also visited Capn Barrow, who was sick of a fever, whereof Willm Deane, Chaplain to the Hospital, died on Tuesday last; and many others are now sick.

31.—I dined with the Col.; and in the evening walked as far as Mr. Turly's with Sr Peregr. Cust in his way homeward. There we supt at my expence of 6 pence. And on the way we met Dr. Walker coming from Belfast after taking a plentiful refreshment.

June. 1.—I read prayers and preached in ye meeting-house at Down Murry to a large congregation. After which I dined with most of our officers at Capn South's quarters, and there had I news of Count Maynard being our Col., and all that Capn Ballingham told us confirmed. My text was Eccls. 11. v. 6—10.

2.—In ye morning our regt drew out to exercise, and I read prayers to them in the field, on horseback; after which I went with them all to ye Major's quars, where we dined, and with them I spent ye rest of ye day.

3.—I went with ye Col. towards Carrickfergus; but as we past thro' Belfast, we read an account that Maynard Count Schomberg, General of the horse, our Col., was landed and in town, whereupon we stopped our journey and waited on him. He recd us very kindly, and ye Col. and Major dined with him, but Fr. Burton and I at the Eagle and Child for 3s. 6d. each.

6.—C. Schomberg came to see us, and gave orders for our exercise; after which he went to Belfast, and Capn Aldworth, Fr. Burton, and I dined at Cornet Conniers's quartrs for 1s. and spent the afternoon at the Major's quarters.

7.—Capt. Aldworth, Fr. Burton, and I went to Carrigfergus, and viewed the town, Castle, and the entrenchments that were about it. It lies by the sea-side, is a small town, and no such strong Castle as is reported, tho' the sea does encompass it on 3 sides. The walls were a little battered near the gate, and some houses burn'd by the carcasses. We dined at Corporal Davis's house, where Capn Mead treated us. In the evening as we came back we met Col. Heaford going to his quarters extremely sick. I offered to go back and attend him, but he refused it. We saw also 2 regt of Dutch horse encamped near the white house, and many soldiers, horse and foot, a-landing, among whom where the 3rd troop of horse and Dutch foot guards. The train of artillery were also in sight; some in the harbour. I preached at Down Murry, and dined at Deryahie with Lieut. Meredith. My text was Matth. 7, 21.

9.—We drew out in the morning in the park, and after a little exercise, Fr. Burton and I went to Belfast, where we bought some tedder ropes and some ginger; thence we and Dick Travers went to the Falls and dined with Sr Peregr. Cust in his quarters.

10.—The General went to Belfast to view the train of artillery, &c. In the evening, on a false report that the King was landed, all the country flamed with bonefires.

1690.

11.—I went to Belfast to visit Mr. Andrews, who is very ill of a fever. I prayed with him, and advised for him, and in the evening met with Burton, Lieut Morton, Pope, and Conniers, at Turlie's, where we spent the evening. This night the first troop of guards landed at Bangor, and the people believing that the King was with them, all were in bonefires as the night before.

12.—We drew out again at the four lanes' end,[j] and after prayers, were exercised. We dined at Mr. Turlie's, Cap[n] Hodges, Cap[n] Aldworth, and Mr. Purdon, who came lately from Dublin and gave me an acct of my family, and of K. J. army [King James's army] being treated by us. Our reckning was 4s. 6d. each. In the afternoon we walked into the park,[k] and thence to the place where Col. Heaford's dragoons were encamped near Belfast. At our return we sat a while at the constable's, and then supped with the Col.; and Dick Travers being gone, I quartered Mr. Purdon in my field bed.

14.—I went with Capt Neville and F. Burton to visit Lieut. Prince, and dined with him, but there being no beer in the house, I drank water. After dinner we went to Cornet Pope's quarters, who gave us a bowl of punch; but before we drank it, we rec[d] the news of the King's landing and being at Belfast; whereupon we went immediately towards the park, but in the way we met the L. Col., Major, Capt South, &c. coming home, who assured us of the truth of what we heard; and so returning with them to the Col's Q[rs], we had a bonefire and several vollies. Saw the fireworks at Belfast, and spent the night joyfully.

15.—All the officers of our regt went together to wait on his Majesty, whom we found in the garden, and stood until he passed by us; after which we all went into the hall and were presented to him, and particularly myself by C. Schomberg; our Col. y[n] kissed his Majesty's hand. Then we dined at Mrs. Rourk's for 4s. each. After dinner I went with Mr. Pooley to Mr. Cox, with whom and Dr. Walker we sat an hour,[l] and then I walked home with the Adjutant, the town being surrounded by the multitude of officers in it.

16.—This day the remainder of the Dutch foot and most of the dragoons arrived, in so much that there were not less than 500 sail of ships together in the lough. In the afternoon I went to the mountain's foot to bury Corporal Smith, of Capn Coote's troop, which I did at an old burying place within a ½ mile of Belfast, called Shankill; and as I returned thro' the town I saw the King coming home with his guards, having been at the White House, and seen his train of artillery, being 40 peeces.

Belfast camp.—The encampment of Schomberg's army was at the place still known as "the Trench," situated one mile from Drumbeg church, near the cross-roads called "the four lane ends," and extending in the direction of Lisburn. The entrenchment consisted of a high ditch and a deep fosse into which water flowed, and was several miles in extent, encircling the present properties of Trench House and Belvedere House. Little of it now remains. The horse and artillery were encamped further on at Brookhill. The ground there was palisaded without a trench, and the stakes remained for a long time afterwards; a portion of the ground being eventually converted into a farm-yard by the late proprietor of the place, Commodore Watson.

[k] The park adjoining the camp, alluded to in the Diary, lay in a direct line between Brookhill and "the Trench," and was surrounded by a wall. It is still called "the Park," and is used as grazing ground.

[l] He does not inform us what "refreshment," if any, he got with Walker during the hour's *sederunt!*

1690.

17.—In the morning early we drew out in the park, and about 10 of the clock the King came and viewed our regiment. He rode between all ye ranks, and then, taking a stand before ye left squadron, we all filed off troop by troop, and marched man by man before him.

19.—We drew out in the morning and encamped in the park; about 10 of the clock the King passed by us; and having viewed some regts of Dutch horse, went to Hillsbourrow, giving us orders to march after him to-morrow.

20.—We rendevoused all our regt at Lambeg, and marching thro' Lisburn encamped at Garanbane, [Carnbane,] about the midway between it and Hillsbourrough.

21.—We decamped very early and marched to Dromore, where we encamped beyond the town before 9 of the clock.

22.—We marched to Loughbricklinn, where the whole army rendevoused. In the after noon the King came up and viewed us, and pitched in a hill to the left of us, our foot being in the first line on the right wing next the Dutch troop of Gaurds. In the evening 2 Scotch Ensigns that deserted K. James came in to us, and gave an acct that he was encamped with 20,000 men near Dundalk, resolving to dispute the pass near Moyra Castle;[m] whereupon it was concluded that Major Generl Scravenmore should view the country, and find another way to march our cannon; and accordingly about midnight went out with 200 horse and 100 dragoons. We had also an acct this evening that Capn Farlow, of Col. Stewart's regmt, going out with a small party of foot and dragoons, fell on another of the enemy and routed them, but pursuing too far, fell into an ambush, lost his Lieut. and 16 men killed; himself and 10 more were wounded; 8 taken.

23.—I went in the morning with the Col. and Capn Aldworth to the King's Qrs, but his Majesty was gone toward Newry, and went with his guards only 3 miles beyond it. We applied ourselves to Sir R. Southwell about getting the Capt a command in Col. Foulks's regimt, and so [he] retained. In the evening Capt South and the detachmt with Scravenmore returned, and gave an acct that as soon as they parted from us they saw a trooper of K. J. army as a spy viewing our camp, and that he immediately scoured off, and carrying news that our army were on their march, and that he saw their vanguard coming forward, whom he mistook that detachmt to be. K. James burned his camp and made the best of his way toward Drogheda. We had also an acct this day of an engagmt with the French in the Mediterranean, where we were victorious, and that the Duke of Savoy had declared war against the French.

24.—K. J. having quitted the strong pass at Moyra Castle, we staid in camp until all the forces were come up. In the afternoon a deserter of Col. Sheldon's regmt came over to us,

[m] *Moyra Castle.*—This is the "Moyry Pass," the well-known defile leading into Ulster, and the scene of repeated contests during Tyrone's rebellion. It is now known as "Ravensdale."

1690.

and gave the King a good account of the state and proceedings of the army, that they were 43,000 men, and all drawing together in order to oppose us; and that Cap[t] Farlow was taken prisoner and among them. We were also this day much affected with apprehension that our fleet at Carlingford are surprised and destroyed by the enemy, having heard very many cannon that way, much after the method of an engagement at sea. This evening all our detachm[t] returned and bring news the foe had quitted Dundalk and Ardee.

25.—We lay still encamped, our way being now clear before us, only the left wing and all the foot marched before us. We had an account also that the cannon we heard was from our own ships entering the bay of Carlingford, and that Major-Gen[l] Kirk was entered into Dundalk.

26.—In the morning we decamped, and going over Poins's pass [?] came to Newry, and passing the bridge pitched our tents on a hill beyond the town. The King lay in a small tent by us, being well assured that our way was open to Dundalk.

27.—We marched from Newry over the pass at Moyra, where the enemy, if they had any spirit, might easy have stopped us for some time; about 10 of the clock we saw Dundalk, and passing the river near Bedlow castle,[u] and going over the ground of the last encampm[t], we pitched a mile beyond the town on the same ground where K. J. lay last year. Here Lieut. Gen. Douglass and all the rest of our army came up to us, so that we formed a camp at least 3 miles in length in 2 lines. The King, with a party of horse and dragoons, marched forward, and had acc[t] by his scouts that K. J. lay on this side Ardee, not 5 miles from us. Whereupon order was given to have all our horses saddled at the picket, and to be ready to mount at the sound of the trumpet: and in order thereunto at 9 of the clock every man was booted and had his horse in his hand, it being resolved to follow the enemy this night or in the morning early. But some Dutch dragoons that were sent out to discover fell into the rear of the enemy whom they found on their march, and took some provisions and a little plunder; and bringing us an acc[t] that they were decamped, and had quitted Ardee and gone beyond it, put a stop to our design, and all were ordered to unsaddle.

28.—A strong detachm[t] of horse and dragoons were commanded out, with whom Col. Begerly, [?] our Lieut. Col. went, and after the King in person: they marched to Ardee, and found the town empty, a few sick persons only remaining in it; King James's army being gone forward in the morning early, on pretence, as is said, of sending some forces into Munster to oppose our landing there. In the afternoon 2 persons, a man and woman, were seized attempting to poison our water, and were killed by the mob; in the evening the King returned and ordered us to march at 2 in the morning.

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[u] *Bedlow Castle*—Castletown, a ruin in good preservation within a mile of Dundalk, and close to the line of railway. It was the property of the Bellews until the middle of the last century.

1690.

29.—At 2 in the morning we decamped and marched to Ardee. By the way 2 men were hanged, one for deserting, the other for betraying some of our men to the enemy. In the afternoon I read prayers, and preached in the field on Psalm 118, 15. In the evening I received a message from H. Cross that he was seized and committed at the standard for suspicion of being a spy and inclined to desert us; whereupon I went to ye place and found him pinnioned there under a guard of 3 persons, who would not permit me to speak to him, whereupon I returned pensive, but unable to do him service.

30.—At 2 in the morning we decamped again, and marched toward Drogheda, where we found K. J. encamped on the other side of the Boyne. We drew up all our horse, in a line opposite him, within a cannon shot; and as his Majesty passed our line they fired 6 shot at him, one whereof fell and struck off the top of the Duke Wertemberg's pistol and the wiskers of his horse, and another tore the King's coat on his shouldier.[a] We stood open during at least 20 shots, untill a man and 2 horses being killed among the Dutch guards, we all retired into a trench behind us, where we lay safe, while much mischief was done to other regim^ts, and in the evening drew off and encamped behind the hill.

July 1.—About 6 in the morning the Earl of Portland[b] marched up the river almost to the bridge of Slane with the right wing, consisting of 24 squadrons of horse and dragoons, and 6 regiments of foot; and at 2 fords we passed the river, where there were 6 squadrons of the enemy to guard the pass, but the first firing of our dragoons and 3 pieces of cannon yt marched with us, they all ran away, killing nothing but one of our dragoon horses. As soon as we passed the river we saw the enemy marching towards us, and that they drew up on the side of a hill in 2 lines, the river on their right, and all their horse on the left wing; their foot appeared very numerous, but in horse we far exceeded. Whereupon the Earl of Portland drew us up also in 2 lines, intermixing the horse and foot by squadron and battalion, and sent away for more foot to enforce us. And thus the armys stood a considerable time, an unpassable bog being between them. At length 6 regiments of foot more joyned, and we altered our line of battle, drawing all our horse into the right wing, and so outflanking the enemy, we marched round the bog and engaged them, rather pursuing than fighting them as far as Dulcek. In the interim

[a] A buff coat worn by William on the eve of the battle is now in the possession of Robert Thompson, Esq., of Ravensdale, and was shown among the antiquities exhibited in Belfast in 1852, at the Meeting of the British Association. It is perforated at the spot opposite the shoulder in which the King received his wound. It was the property of the late Mrs. Mills, (grand-aunt to Mr. Thompson,) who died a few years ago in extreme old age, at Ravensdale. This lady's husband had received it from Colonel Wetherall, (Aide-de-camp to William,) whose near relative he was. The Colonel had assisted in taking it off the King, with whose consent he had retained it in memory of the incident, and of his sovereign. The dimensions of the coat prove that William was a man of small stature.

[b] It will be remarked that Davis names the Earl of Portland as in command of the right wing, while Belingham, in our subsequent extract, names Douglas, and the French author, also quoted by us, names the Count Menard de Schomberg as occupying this position. All three are correct, for Count de Schomberg was the general in command, whilst the others commanded their respective brigades of horse and foot under him. Such discrepancies are valuable, and serve to confirm the correctness of the general report.

1690.

Count Solmes with the foot forced the pass under our camp, and marched over the river with the blue Dutch regt of guards. No sooner were they up the hill, but the enemy's horse fell on them, ours, with the King, being about half a mile lower, passing at another ford. At the first push the first rank only fired, and then fell on their faces, loading their muskets again as they lay on the ground. At the next charge they fired a volley of 3 ranks, then at the next the first rank got up and fired again, which being received by a choice squadron of the enemy, consisting most of officers, they immediately fell in upon the Dutch, as having spent all their front fire, but the 2 rear ranks drew up in 2 platoons, and flanked the enemy across; and the rest screwing their swords to the muskets, received the charge with all imaginable bravery, and in a minute dismounted them all. The Derry regmt also sustained them bravely, and as they drew off maintained the same ground with groans and laughter. His Majesty then came up and charged at the head of the Iniskilling horse, who deserted him at the first charge,[a] and carried with them a Dutch regiment that sustained them, but the King's blue troop of guards soon supplied their place, and with them he charged in person, and routed the enemy, and coming over the hill near Dulcek appeared on our flank, and being not known at first made all our forces halt and draw up again in order, which gave the enemy time to rally also, and draw up on the side of the hill, a bog and river being between us, and then they fired 2 pieces of cannon on us, but did no mischief; but, as soon as our foot and cannon came up, they marched on and we after them; but our foot being unable to march as they did, we could not come up to fight again, but the night coming on we were forced to let them go; but had we engaged half an hour sooner, or the day held an hour longer, we had certainly destroyed that army. However, we killed the Lord Dungane, Lord Carlingford, Sir Neal Oneal, and about 3,000 others; and lost Duke Schomberg, Dr. Walker, Colonel Callimot, and about 300 more; we took Lieut. General Hamilton, and several officers and soldiers prisoners, and it being very dark were forced to be in the field all night with our horses in our hands.

2.—In the morning, as soon as it was light, we returned to Dulcek, where our foot was, and sent a detachment to bring up our baggage from the last camp. In the afternoon, 3 troops of horse and 3 regiments of foot that came from Munster to join K. J., appeared on the flank, and alarmed us, and sending two spies to discover who we were, we took and hanged them, the rest marching back without any engagemt. I rode out this afternoon to see the country, and got some corn for my horse, but all other things were taken before, out of Sir Garet Aylmor and the Lady Babe's [Balfe?] houses. In the evening William Sanders came to us from Dublin, and gave an acct that K. J. with all his army were gone forward toward Munster, having released all his prisoners.

[a] Macaulay (*History of England*, vol. 3, p. 634) explains satisfactorily this sudden retreat of the Enniskilleners, they having mistaken a movement of William's, to bring up a reinforcement of his Dutch guards, for a retreat.

1690.

3.—We broke up our camp in the morning, and marched to a place within 2 miles of Swords, where 300 citizens of Dublin came out to the King, and to congratulate our victory, assuring us that K. J. was gone, and [that he had] advised that no blood be spilled to exasperate us. Whereupon 2 battalions of Dutch foot were sent forward, and a party of the horse guards toward Dublin.

4.—We lay still in our camp, and I went to Dublin to see my Lord Primate, whom I found very well and cheerfull. In the afternoon the Dutch guards took possession of the castle, and the Duke of Ormond, with the horse, the out guards of the city. In the evening I went with F. Burton and some others to the 3 Tuns, and we lay together at Rob. Foulk's lodging in Wine Tavern Street.

5.—Our army marched forward and encamped on the West of Finglass. In the afternoon the Col. and I went to the Court, and thence to Johnstown to visit Col. Moore and his lady, and so came home.

6.—The King went in the morning to Dublin, and heard Dr. King preach at St Patrick's Church. I preached in the camp, and after sermon I walked to Dublin and dined at Dean Burgh's. In the evening I met the Col. and some other of our officers, and sat a while with them at the 3 Tuns in St Michal's lane, and then we returned together, I riding Lieut. Meredith's horse, and the city full of bonefires."

We need not follow Dr. Davis any farther, but leave some of our southern brother archæologists to take him up in his marches and campaigns through Munster. We will close this article by two extracts from contemporary writers. The first is from a work in French, published in Amsterdam the year after the Battle of the Boyne; and, although anonymous, evidently the production of one who had access to all the important documents of the day, whether civil or military, which he frequently gives *verbatim*. His style in describing events is clear and concise, and might serve as a model in that respect to some of our military chroniclers of later times. From the extract we give, translated, it would appear that the effect of the diversion of the right wing of his army to the Fords of Slane had been fully calculated on by William, and that the movements of his centre under his own command were regulated by the success of the movement of this wing, in which were our two Diarists.

"The same evening that the King of England was wounded in the way I have described [by a six-pound shot] he ordered Count Ménard de Schomberg, with the Cavalry of the right wing, two regiments of Dragoons of the left wing, Trelawny's Brigade of Infantry, and five small field-pieces, to go the next morning to some Fords which he understood were three miles higher up than the camp, to effect a passage, and thus take the enemy in the flank or oblige them to decamp. The Count, who is exceedingly experienced and skilful in the art of war; who possesses in charges, com-

bats, and pitched battles, courage, activity and admirable energy; and who is capable not only of successfully commanding a corps such as that I have just specified, but even a great army; having spent the night in making all his arrangements, went, early in the morning to the place I have mentioned, and there found on the other side of the river eight squadrons of the enemy, who made as if they would defend the passage of it. Nevertheless he enters the water with troops under his command, presses on, repulses speedily the enemy, puts them to flight, and draws up in the order of battle with the design of marching after them again to attack them and rout them, according to the original order of the King, whom he constantly kept informed of the state of affairs, so that his Majesty might take his measures accordingly, and attack and force the enemy at other points, lest the whole of their army should fall upon him. The King thus informed sent his orders to the Count, and intimated to him, at the same time, that he was going to cross with the rest of the army."— *Histoire de la Rèvolution d'Irelande, arrivée sous Guillaume III.*, 1691.

Our other extract will be from Bellingham's Journal, giving an account of that portion of the Battle in which William was more immediately engaged, and for which we are indebted to the kindness of his descendant, Sir Alan E. Bellingham, who has handed us the following:—"the 30th [June] very hott. I called at Mr. Townley's in our march towards Boyne. I was some time wth ye King on ye hill of Tullaghescar, from where he viewed Drogheda, and then went towards Old Bridge. On ye S. side of Boyne lay ye enemye's camp; which ye King going to view he was hitt by cannon shot on ye shoulder, which putt us into the greatest consternation imaginable, but blessed be God it proved but a slighte hurte. Went round his own camp, and was received wth ye greatest joye and acclamations imaginable, ye cannon fired at each [other] all ye afternoon. We drew a great body of our horse up ye hills in sight of ye enemy. We fir'd severall bombs, some of which did execution, and our cannon dismounted 2 of ye enemye's batteryes.

"July 1st. 1690.—A joyfull day, excessive hott: about 6 this morning the King gott on horseback and gave ye necessary orders. Kirke ordered me to bring him some accounts from ye enemy. I brought him a youth, one Fyans, who came that morning from Drogheda. I carry'd him to ye King who was then standing att the battery seeing his cannon play att ye house of Old Bridge.

"He sent early a strong detachment of about 15,000 men with Douglass towards Slane, who pass'd ye river without any opposition, and putt ye enemy to route who were on that wing.

"He sent another detachment of horse to ye left to goe over att ye mill foord, but ye tide coming in, and ye foord bad, ye passage was very difficult, most of them being forced to swim, insomuch yt they could not come up time enough to assist our foot, who went over foord att Old Bridge. About 11 of ye clock ye enemy had layed an ambush behind ye ditches and houses on ye other side of ye water, who fir'd incessantly att our men as they were passing river, who, as soon as arriv'd on land, immediately putt those musquecteirs to ye route, and advanc'd farther into ye field in Battalia. Here the brave old Duke Schomberg was killed, and Coll. Callemott mortally

wounded. Ye enemy advanc'd towards us, and made a brisk effort upon us, but we soon repell'd them with considerable loss on theyr side. They made two other attempts upon us, but were still bravely beaten back: and when our horses of ye left came upp ye enemy quite quitted that field, having left severall dead bodyes behind them. 'Twas there we tooke Lieut. General Hamilton. The enemye's horse of Tirconnell's regiment behav'd themselves well, but our Dutch like Angells. The K. charg'd in person at ye head of ye Enniskilleners and expos'd himself wth undaunted bravery—he pursu'd almost as far ye Naule[r] and left them not till near 10 o'clock att night—I was his guide back to Dulecke—we kill'd about 2000 of theyr men besides Ld Carlingford, Dungan, and severall other officers of noate kill'd and taken prisoners. We lost not above 200 in ye whole action, many of which were kill'd by our own men through mistake. I return'd to ye camp at Old Bridge, having left ye King in his couch att Dulecke where he stay'd that night. I was allmost fainte for want of drinke and meat." G. S.

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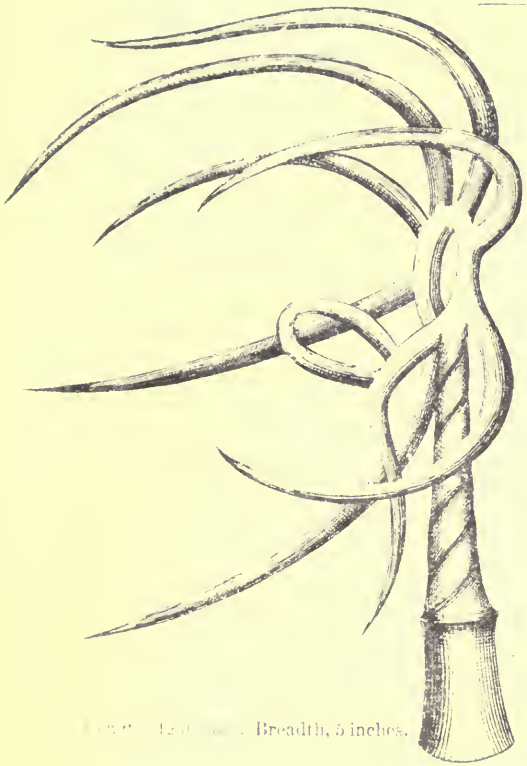
[r] "The Naule," about nine miles from the field, is a precipitous and romantic glen, through which the river Delvan flows, dividing the counties of Meath and Dublin; and it probably presented an insurmountable obstacle to William's cavalry.

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.



Breadth, 5 inches.

The [illegible] hook, of which I send you a drawing, has been in my possession for a number of years past, and was shown in the Exhibition of Antiquities held in the Belfast Museum during the Meeting of the British Association. I purchased it on the 3rd of January, 1845, from an itinerant collector of rags and bones, called Welsh. He told me he had obtained it from a country woman near Saintfield (County Down), who found it, a few days previously, in a small rivulet which runs from a bog. I had it for several years before I could form any conjecture as to its use; for, as far as I am aware, no article at all resembling it had ever been found in Ireland. I at length met with an engraving in the *Pictorial Bible* (published by Knight & Co., London, 1838) which seemed to throw some light on the subject. It is an illustration appended to the following verse in the Book of Ezekiel (40th chapter, 43rd verse):—"And within were *hooks*, an hand broad, fastened round about; and upon the tables was the flesh of the offering." On this passage is the following note:—"*Hooks.*—It is probable that these hooks were attached to posts, and that the victims were suspended from them to be skinned and dressed for sacrifice. Thus, we are informed by the Rabbinical writers, that in the slaughter-place of the second temple, to the north of the altar, there were eight pillars of stone boarded with cedar, in each of which were fixed three rows of iron hooks, one above another; and that from the higher hooks were suspended the bullocks, from the next the rams, and from the lowest the lambs, when dressed for sacrifice. A large variety of instruments were employed in the ancient sacrifices." This note is illustrated by an engraving of an "Etruscan Sacrificial Hook," of which I annex an exact copy, and which you will observe bears a striking resemblance to my bronze hook, even to the twist in the socket of the handle. It is not mentioned

from what authority the Editor of the *Pictorial Bible* procured this engraving, but most probably from Camparini's *Etruscan Tombs*, as many of the other Etruscan illustrations are taken from that work.—I have no further suggestions to offer respecting this hook. It will be for some of your learned correspondents to account for the striking similarity in form (and that so peculiar a form) in two instruments found in countries so widely separated as Etruria and Ireland. I have merely to add that the hook is made of cast bronze, and bears no perceptible marks of any subsequent workmanship upon it.

Lisburn. GEORGE STEPHENSON.

SINGULAR TENURES OF LAND.—I would suggest to your correspondents to note, for publication in your Journal, the various old tenures of land still existing in different parts of Ireland. As a commencement I send you one. The lands known as "Long Acre" and "Walter Webb's holding," situated immediately adjoining the town of Newmarket in the County of Cork, are held under an ancient lease of lives renewable for ever, subject to a small head-rent, with *two couple of fat hens* and one half great barrel of oats per annum. A MUNSTER-MAN.

May I give you my opinion of an article, printed in page 20 of the last No. of your Journal, on an oval brass badge said to have been found at Armagh. As I believe this badge to be a long thrown aside ticket of the old *Tynan post-bag*, I take the liberty of making this short communication to you, in order to correct the fallacious explanation given. The reading of the inscription is as follows:—PT OF TIEN CE ARMAGH. The perforations at the edge of the badge have possibly been made to clinch it to the leathern bag. Within the inner ellipsis are the figures of the sun and moon—fitting emblems of a post-man, who should, like Time, speed on his way and delay for no man.

Dungannon. JOHN BELL.

Amongst the means taken to discourage the importation of Irish linen into England, an Act was passed in the reign of Charles II. (namely, 18th Car. II. c. 4) entitled "An Act for *burying in woollen only*." It enacted that none should be buried but in woollen, under a penalty; but owing to the want of proper means for the discovery and prosecution of offences it was inoperative, and was repealed by the Act of 30th Charles II. cap. 3, in 1677, which required an affidavit that the corpse "was not put in, wrapt or wound up, or buried, in any shirt, shift, sheet, or shroud, made or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, hair, gold or silver, or any other material, but sheep's wool only." The penalty was £5. R.

THE GIANT'S RING.—Any information respecting this remarkable spot ought to be carefully noted. Dr. O'Donovan is of opinion that its history is the key to all investigations respecting the surrounding district. If reference were made to old Grants, some names of places adjoining the Giant's Ring might be recovered which are now lost; and these might lead to further discoveries, as to the origin and date of the Ring itself. It is most likely that it had a peculiar name in the Irish language, down to the final expulsion of the natives from the locality; but as yet no mention of this has been met with. There are some of your readers, I know, could give material assistance in this research, and I hope they will refer to any old documents in their possession and send you the result. H. P.

QUERIES.

There is an expression in the commencement of *Gil Blas* that I should be glad to know the origin of, as well as the exact meaning conveyed by it. Gil Blas describing, in the first chapter, the progress of his education and his proficiency in logic, says:—"J'aimais tant la dispute, que j'arretais les passants, connus ou inconnus, pour les proposer des arguments. Je m'adressais quelquefois à *des figures hibernoises* qui ne demandaient pas mieux; et il fallait alors nous voir

disputer! Quelles gestes! quelles grimaces! quelles contorsions!" &c. Now what does he allude to by "*figures hibernoises?*" Was the love of quarrelling amongst Hibernians so notorious in France and Spain that it had become a kind of proverb? SENEX.

What is the origin of the common imprecation "Bad cess to ye?" CURIOSUS.

OLD RHYMES.—Many old scraps of rhyme are preserved among children, being taught to them generation after generation by their nurses, and which originally referred to traditions or places now unknown. One of these, which is quite common in the North of Ireland, is—

"The robin and the wren
Are God Almighty's cock and hen."

Is this rhyme heard elsewhere, and what is its origin? And what reason can be given for the general persecution of the wren in Ireland?

Another rhyme commences as follows:—

"How many miles to Barley Bridge,
Three score and ten."

What place is here alluded to? H. P.

I observe that a correspondent (vol. 3, p. 323) makes an inquiry respecting the origin of the difference between English and Irish measures of length and surface. I would beg to add a further query, of a similar class, which no doubt can be answered by some of your learned contributors. What is the origin of our present strange system of *weights*, so different from that of any of the continental countries of Europe? What could have led to the division of a *hundred-weight* (which, from its very name, proves that it meant originally 100 pounds) into so unmanageable a number of parts as 112. One can readily account for what is called the *long* hundred-weight, consisting of 120 pounds, by considering it as 10 *dozen* of pounds; but the ordinary hundred-weight of 112 pounds is not divisible either by 10 or 12. PONDUS.

What are the earliest notices in Irish history of the use of wine and distilled spirits; and is it known whether the art of distillation was a native invention or an importation? Was beer or ale early used in Ireland?

A WATER-DRINKER.

Did the Irish at an early period shoe their horses? If so, it must have been with *iron*, not *bronze*, as I believe no specimen of a bronze horse-shoe has ever been met with. Perhaps some of your readers can inform me what is the present practice among wandering tribes of Tartars and other remote Asiatics. In many districts it must be nearly impossible to procure iron for such a purpose. Is there any work on the Antiquities of Horsemanship and Farriery? GEORGE.

What is the true origin of the word *Tory?* I have met with several conjectures, but none of them seem to me satisfactory. FERGUS.

Has it yet been determined by scholars what language was spoken by the ancient Picts, of whom we read so frequently as joining the Scots in their incursions into Britain during the dominion of the Romans? DUNENSIS.

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

RINGAN'S POINT.—(Queries, vol. 3, p. 323.)—Ringan is still a Christian name in Scotland and the North of Ireland. The promontory in question may have taken its name from a Scotch settler who lived on the spot. I have heard it stated that Ringan is a corruption of *Ninian*. H. P.

RINGAN'S POINT.—(Queries, vol. 3, p. 323.) I have little doubt that this is a corruption of *Saint Ninian's Point*. There is a church of St. Ninian in the Shetland Islands, which is provincially called *St. Ringan's Church*. R.

FISHING BASKETS.—[See Queries, vol. 4, p. 23.] E. G. is informed that the writer of this saw, during the winter of 1855, a basket set for the purpose of catching fish in the flood-gate of a small mill, situate on a stream which discharges itself into the Shannon, near the village

of Glasson, county Westmeath. The water-course was formed of pitched pavement, and would have speedily worn out a net. R. M.

Fishing Baskets.—Buchanan in his *History of Scotland*, written in Latin in 1697, mentions the custom of catching eels in wicker baskets or nets in Galloway. His words are:—"In convallibus inter eos [scil. collibus] aqua restagnans innumeros prope lacus efficit, e quibus primis ante æquinoctium autumnale imbribus rivi augentur, unde multitudo incredibilis anguillarum descendit, quas accolæ *nassis vimineis* exceptas sale condiunt, ac non modicum inde quæstum faciunt." Senex.

Brian-tang (Queries, vol. 3, p. 323).—This name is applied to a reservoir or dam which communicates with the Ballynure river. Perhaps the latter part of the word is a corruption of the word "tank," signifying an enclosed place to contain water. Senex.

Bell.—At page 206 of your second volume there is a query by H. P., relative to a bell found in Killarney lake about the middle of the last century; and, as it appears from page 24 of your 4th volume (Jany., 1856) that the query still remains unanswered, I searched a few of my books and found what I now append, which, though it does not furnish H. P. with all the information he desires, I beg to send you. I naturally first looked into Smith's *Kerry*, published a few years after the finding of the bell, where, writing of the priory of Irrelagh, he says:—"The steeple was small and capable of containing only a single bell, and it is supported by a Gothic arch or vault. The bell was not many years ago found in the adjacent lough, and by the inscription was known to have belonged to this priory, which from the time of its foundation hath been the cemetery of the Mac Carty-Mores, and other families."—*p.* 143. Grose, Weld, and G. R. Smith merely repeat what Dr Smith says of the bell, Weld adding:—"Probably the soldiers of the parliamentary army were instrumental to its destruction, of whose outrages the country about Killarney was a distinguished scene. Mr. Windele, in his valuable *Historical and Descriptive Notices of Cork and its Vicinity*, adds to Dr. Smith's account a notice from the *Cork Remembrancer*, which is substantially the same as that given from the Tralee letter in your Journal; except that the *Cork Remembrancer* gives "Jan. 20, 1750," as the date of the finding of the bell. These notes and references, though they do not inform us whether the bell exists or not, may help your correspondent in his inquiry. R. H.

Green's Barns, Belfast.—In the Number of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* for January last, a correspondent, E. G., at p. 22, alludes to a point on the old charts of the bay which denotes the estate of the Green family; and to a place known during the writer's boyhood by the name of "Green's Burns." This is an error, (perhaps a typographical one); the old name of the place being "Green's *Barns*." It is at a short distance below Thompson's embankment, to the right of the sea-road going towards Carrickfergus. It is still marked by the remains of a very large willow tree; and, when I was a boy, it was regarded with some awe, as being the spot near high-water-mark where it was usual to *bury suicides*. J. E. T.

Carnaleagh.—(Queries, vol. 1, p. 65.)—Two derivations of this name might be given,—*Carn liath*, (pronounced *leah*) the "grey cairn," and *Carn-a-laoich*, "the cairn of the hero." The modern spelling of Irish names of places, being merely an attempt to imitate the sound in English letters, is very apt to confound words totally different in meaning. A notable example of this occurs in the prefix *Kil*, which frequently appears in the names of places, and which represents two distinct Irish words, the one signifying "a church" and the other "a wood." But with regard to the name now before us, it is not *Carnalough* but *Carrianlough*, and is so written in the Hamilton Patent. It is a rock projecting out from the coast between Grey Point and Crawford's Burn (on the shore of Belfast Lough), and gives its name to the lands adjoining. There is a small rath or tumulus near the spot. I have no hesitation in giving as its original Irish spelling, *Carrigan liath*, "the little grey rock;" *Carrigan* being a diminutive formed from *Carrig*, a rock. There are several groupes of rocks along

the coast of Ireland called the "Carrigans." The omission of the letter *g* in the modern pronunciation of many Irish words is quite common, and is readily accounted for by the principles of Irish grammar. OLLAMH FODHLA.

CORPORATE RECORDS OF BELFAST.—(Vol. 2. p. 285.)—I regret that I can give no information as to the fate of these records; but I still hope they have only gone astray and may turn up some day. I may mention a curious circumstance which was related to me not long since by an old lady, that one of the burgesses of Belfast, named Doak, signs his name in these Corporate Records with *his mark*, not being able to write. On referring to a list of the Sovereigns of Belfast I find that Hugh Doake held that office in 1647; and amongst the Local Tokens enumerated in this Journal (vol. 2, p. 232), there is one by Hugh *Dwok*, issued in 1656. H. P.

GRAVE OF MAGNUS.—(Vol. 3, p. 83.)—I have reason to believe that the Danish antiquarian, Worsaae, during his visit to Ireland, made strict inquiry on the spot respecting the grave, but without success. There is still, however, a vague tradition existing among the lower classes in Downpatrick that this Danish chief was interred somewhere near the Cathedral. DUNENSIS.

THE BLACK MOUNTAIN, NEAR BELFAST.—(Vol. 3, p. 324.)—In the map of the Barony of Belfast, in the "Down Survey," a range of four mountains is laid down under the name of *Slewrageurach Mountains*. They correspond in position with the present Cave-hill, Squire's Hill, Devis, and Black Mountain, so that this may have been a general name for the whole range. Farther on, towards Carrickfergus, another mountain is delineated and called "*The Great Knockagh Mt.*" This name is still preserved, but the other is totally unknown. It is probable that *Slewrageurach* was specially the name of the Black Mountain, because Devis, which adjoins it closely, has its distinct name; and the old name of the Cave-hill is still preserved in old documents, though now forgotten by the people. E. G.

BLACKSTAFF RIVER.—(Vol. 1, p. 230.)—None of your correspondents having yet proposed any explanation of the name of the river, I beg to offer the following suggestion.—In an old MS. in the library of Lambeth palace, entitled *a Reporte of the voluntary Works done by Serevitores and other Gent. of Qualitie upon lands geven them by His Maitie, &c.* this stream is called "ryver of *Owynvarra* betwene Malon and Bealfast."—This word is readily explained in Irish; *Owyn (Abhuinn)* being "a river," and *varra (bheara*, gen. of *bior)* a "spit" or "stake," i.e. the river of the stake, or the *staff*-river; a stake and a staff being nearly the same. The English name Blackstaff-river would therefore be nearly a translation of the Irish one.—Now as to the probable origin of the term. It would appear that in ancient times it was a common practice to drive one or more large stakes into the bed of a river in such a position as would prevent the passage of boats upwards from the sea. There is little doubt that the Blackstaff river formed one of the defences of Belfast Castle, and it would become of importance to hinder any boats from passing beyond a certain point; for it must be borne in mind that formerly the sea came much higher up the river than at present, and the castle was therefore assailable from that side. This mode of defence is alluded to by several ancient authors. In the Irish version of *Nennius* [*p.* 61] it is mentioned, that on the first approach of the Romans to attack Britain, the commander of the Britons "put spikes of iron in the fording-place of the river, in preparation for the battle." Cæsar also speaks of the large stakes placed in the Thames by Cassibellanus:—"ripa autem erat acutis sudibus præfixis munita, ejusdemque generis sub aqua defixæ sudes flumine tegebantur." [*De Bello Gallico*, 18]; and Bede says that these stakes actually remained to his time;"—"quarum vestigia sudium ibidem usque hodie visuntur."—[*Hist. Eccl. i.* 2.] SENEX.

FRIARS' BUSH.—(Vol. 3, p. 84)—Mr. Benn in his *History of Belfast* state that "Friars' stone" was the name of a place near Shaw's Bridge; but he does not mention his authority. In a map of the time of Elizabeth, in the State Paper Office, London, this name is affixed to the spot now called "Friars' Bush." H. P.

SAINT PATRICK'S PURGATORY.*

BY WILLIAM PINKERTON.

PART II.

MEDIÆVAL HISTORY:—LEGEND OF THE KNIGHT.

"Holy bischoppes som tym there were,
That tawghte men of Goddes lore:
In Irelonde preched Seynt Patryke,
In that lande was non hym lyke."[a]

It was about the middle of the twelfth century, when Henry, a Benedictine monk of the abbey of Saltrey in Huntingdonshire, established the wondrous and wide-spread reputation of an insignificant islet, in a dreary lake, among the barren morasses and mountains of Donegall, by giving to the world the Legend of the Knight; a legend which, though strange enough to our modern ideas, was, as has already been shown by that of Tundale, perfectly in accordance with the popular credence of its period. Nor did this legend, like another Minerva, spring an original production from the brain of its author, perfectly formed and fully equipped, to challenge the admiration of an unenlightened age. The monk of Saltrey was a compiler, rather than an inventor; and his story of the Knight was but a phase in the progressive changes of earlier and darker superstitions; a development, as it were, of a nebulous cluster of more ancient fables, to which he assigned a natural habitation and the name of a Saint renowned in legendary lore for many and marvellous miracles. By a natural habitation, I mean Ireland, in allusion to one of the most ancient and generally diffused beliefs that ever swayed the human mind—a belief still lingering even in Christian lands. From the steppes of Central Asia to the remote shores of Gaul, by Hindu Brahmin, Jewish Rabbi, and Celtic Druid, it was believed that the land of spirits, the place of departed souls, was situated in the far-west, the sombre region of the setting sun. "Saga me hwaer seyne seo sunne on niht?"—"Tell me where shineth the sun at night?"—is a question put by one of the speakers in an Anglo-Saxon dialogue, intended to be particularly instructive and scientific; and the reply is:—"I tell thee, in three places: first, in the belly of the whale, which is called Leviathan; secondly, on Hell; and the third time on that island, which is called Glith, and there resteth the souls of holy men till doomsday." Now, though the legend of the Knight cannot be resolved

* *Erratum.*—In the preceding portion of this article, page 40, it is mentioned that the seal of the See of Chester bears as its device a "Prester John:" it ought to be "of the See of Chichester."

[a] *Legend of Owayne Miles*; English metrical version.

to its first principles with the indisputable accuracy of a chemical analysis, yet it exhibits features and incidents derived from the natural characteristics of the assigned locality, and the popular mythology of its pre-Christian inhabitants, the miracles ascribed to St. Patrick, the voyages of St. Brendan, the romances of the Round-table, and that predominating classical element which at one period almost threatened to absorb and confound with itself the Christianity of the darker ages. All these varied components can be distinctly traced in it, and cannot be passed over without some preliminary notice.

Mankind have ever connected the romantic and wonderful in nature with the marvels of the myth. The partly discoloured waters of Lough-Derg—"the red lough"—the gloomy, desolate, and wild character of the scenery surrounding that "dim lake,"[b] (as it has so appositely been termed by Moore,) and some fantastically formed rocks on one of its islands, said to be "the entrails and tail of a great serpent turned into stone,"[c] were quite sufficient to give rise to a pre-Christian myth, which is still told to the following effect:—Conan, the son of Fin Mac Coul, one day, when hunting in the mountains of Donegall, came across the bones of a notorious witch, whom his father had killed some years before. While contemplatively regarding these interesting relics, a red-haired dwarf appeared, and told Conan to take care of what he was about; for in the thigh-bone of the defunct sorceress was a worm, which, if it once got out, and could get water sufficient to drink, would be likely to destroy every living creature in all Ireland. The fool-hardy Conan, disregarding the "wee man's" good advice, broke the bone, and out crept a long, hairy worm; wriggling and twisting as if in search of water. "Oh! if it is water you want," said the reckless Conan, lifting the reptile upon the point of his spear and flinging it into the lough, "sure there is water enough for you." But his silly bravado turned out a serious matter. No sooner had the worm sufficient water than it became a furious monster, devouring flocks, herds, men, women, and houses, as voraciously as the renowned dragon of Wantley. At last the natives were compelled to make a compromise with the beast, and pay it "black mail" to the amount of several hundred head of cattle per day. The cattle of Ulster were in a short time all devoured, and the other provinces being called upon to supply their quota, a feeling of general indignation arose against Conan, the wilful author of the evil. So he undertook to kill the monster; but, as it was encased in impenetrable scales, cunning as well as courage was required for the successful termination of the adven-

[b] "That dim lake,
Where sinful souls their farewell take
Of this vain world, and half-way lie
In death's cold shadow ere they die."

[c] The saints who are said to have destroyed serpents form a very numerous body in the Calendar; and Mrs. Jameson shrewdly considers that many of these stories have been founded on the discovery of fossil remains of the large extinct *Saurians*. I have been informed, however, through the courtesy of a distinguished Irish geologist, that Lough Derg, being situated in the mica slate district, which is totally destitute of fossils, cannot exhibit anything of the kind. But Messingham asserts that the above-mentioned rocks are memorials or relics of the serpents expelled from Ireland by St. Patrick:—"In cujus ejectionis memoriam ostendi solet in Insula, nodus osseus magnæ molis, diciturque frustrum serpentini ossis ex illo genimine virulento quod Sanctus expulerat." *Flavilegium Insulæ Sanctorum*. Parisiis, 1624.

ture. Disguised in a cow's skin, and armed only with his dagger, Conan went to Knocknachuiny Mountain, near the lake, where the cattle were usually delivered up to the creature, and was there swallowed up by it himself. As he had suspected, he found the interior of the reptile more vulnerable than its exterior, and succeeded in cutting his way out through its body. The heat, however, of the monster's inside singed all the hair off the hero's head, and he was named "bald Conan" till the day of his death. The monster was not killed outright, but left *hors de combat* on the shore of the Lough, bleeding and bellowing with pain, till St. Patrick came and effectually secured it at the bottom of the sheet of water, already discoloured by its blood, and which, in consequence, was ever after known by the appellation of Lough Derg.

The early Christian hermits and missionaries, believing that wild and desert places were the special haunts of fiends and demons, boldly sought the enemy in their own strongholds, and, if we are to believe the *Acta Sanctorum*, physically, as well as morally, contended against the powers of darkness. It is probable, then, that, from a period little ulterior to the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, some Christian ecclesiastics had settled in one or more of the islands in Lough Derg. The earliest authentic account of a religious establishment there is afforded by Giraldus Cambrensis, who tells us that among the wonderful islands in Ireland there is, in Ulster, one divided into two parts: one of these parts is beautiful and pleasant, containing a church, a place of great sanctity, worthy of being visited by angels. The other part is wild and horrible, and said to be the resort of demons. In this demon-haunting part there are nine pits, in any of which, if a man were bold enough to spend a night, he would be so tormented by the fiends that it would be a great chance if he were alive in the morning; and it is reported that he who escapes alive, would, for the tortures he suffered there, be exempted from other tortures after death. The natives call the place St. Patrick's Purgatory.[d] Though Giraldus wrote his *Topography* some time after the date assigned to the descent of the Knight, he appears to have been unacquainted with it; and he, also, evidently commits a slight error when speaking of one island divided into two parts. There were, in fact, two islands connected with the fame of Lough Derg. One, laid down on the ordnance map as Holy Island, contained the convent, and was accessible from the main-land by a wooden bridge, parts of the stone piers of which are still in existence. The other, laid down by the same survey as Station Island, contained, as it still does, the Purgatory, and was accessible only by boat. I may state here, though rather in advance of my subject, that it is the opinion of some late writers, and indeed a

[d] Est locus in partibus Ultoniæ continens insulam bipartitam, cujus pars altera probatæ religionis ecclesiam habens spectabilis est, et amœna Angelorum visitatione, Sanctorumque loci illius visibili frequentia incomparabiliter illustrata. Pars altera hispida nimis, et horribilis, solis Dæmoniis dicitur assignata: quæ et visibilibus cacodæmonum turbis et pompis fere semper manet exposita: pars ista novem in se lovcas habet, in quarum aliqua si quis forte pernoctare præsumpserit, quod a temerariis hominibus nonnunquam constat esse probatum, a malignis spiritibus tuas arripitur, et mente tot et tantarum gravibus pœnis cruciatur, tot tamque et tam ineffabilibus ignis, et aquæ, variique generis tormentis incessanter affligitur, ut mane facto, vix vel minime specie superstite, reliquiæ miseto in corpore reperiantur. Hæc ut asserunt tormenta, si quis semel ex injuncta pœnitentia sustinuerit, in cunctis ampliis pœnas, nisi graviora commiserit, non subibit. Hic autem locus Purgatorium Patricii ab incolis vocatur.—*Topog. Hib.* ii. 5.

popular tradition on the shores of Lough Derg, that the Purgatory was first situated on Holy Island, but, at a subsequent period, to suit the convenience of the attendant priests, was removed to Station Island. I must, however, with deference, express my dissent from that opinion, in which I am rather supported by Giraldus than otherwise. Besides, Petrus Lombardus, titular Primate of Ireland, who ought to have known, after speaking of Station Island, says:—In the other island is a convent of Canons Regular of St. Augustin, subject to the abbot and monastery of the Apostles Peter and Paul, situate in the city of Armagh; yet he, who within the lake is chief of the monks, is honoured with the title of Prior of the Purgatory. Of these monks, by turns, two continually reside on the island of the Purgatory, to receive and instruct, as spiritual fathers, those pilgrims who come there to expiate their sins.[e]

The various lives of St. Patrick, vague, wild, and unsatisfactory as they are, still aid to give us an idea of part of the materials which in course of time assumed the form of the legend of the Knight. In the third life, printed by Colgan, we are told how King Echu died, and the saint, restoring him to life, caused him to relate what he had seen of the other world, the punishments of Purgatory and the pleasures of Paradise, to convince and convert his pagan subjects. In the same life, there is a curious account of the "baculus Ihesu," which is also mentioned in the legend. Joscelin relates the same stories, and distinctly alludes to the Purgatory, placing it, however, on the top of Cruaghan-aigle,[f] a high mountain in Connaught [montem excelsum Cruaghan-aigle vocatum in Conacia constitutum] instead of at the bottom of an island cave. To this mountain summit, he says, the Saint used to resort, for the purpose of solitary fasting and prayer; but the demons, in the form of black-birds, speedily followed to annoy and disturb him. Patrick, however, drove the demons out of Ireland, by the sound of a drum, which he beat with such holy fervour that he knocked a hole in it, when it was miraculously mended by an angel. Subsequently many persons repaired to the mountain to fast and pray, believing that the Saint had obtained from God the privilege that all who did so should be exempt from punishment after death. And some, continues Joscelin, that passed the night there, relate that they suffered the most grievous tortures, by which they think themselves purged of their sins; and some of them call that place the Purgatory of St. Patrick.[g]

There was yet another Purgatory in Ireland, said to have been founded by St Brendan, and, no doubt, derived from the legend of his wonderful voyage. Camden alludes to it, quoting the following lines of Alexander Nechamus:—

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[e] In altera insula, est conventus canonicorum regularium Sancti Augustini, subjectus quidem abbati et monasterio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ejusdem ordinis in civitate Ardmachano sito; sed tamen, qui in ipso lacu, monachorum est præfectus honoratur titulo Prioris Purgatorii. Ex his monachis, mutatis inter eos vicibus, solent duo semper commorari in insula Purgatorii, constituti illic tanquam patres spirituales, ad adventantes, expiandi sese gratia suscipiendos et instruendos. *Commentarius de Regno Hiberniæ Sanctorum Insulæ.* Louvanni, 1632.

[f] Now Croagh Patrick, in County Mayo

[g] Referunt etiam nonnulli qui pernoctaverunt ibi, se tormenta gravissima fuisse perpessos, quibus se purgatos a peccatis putant, unde et quidam illorum illum Purgatorium Sancti Patricii vocant. *Vita S. Patric.*

"Asserit esse locum solemnis fama dicatum
Brendano, quo lux lucida sæpe micat.
Purgandas animas datur hic transire per ignes,
Ut digna faeie judicis esse queant."

Which Camden, in his usual quaint manner, renders into this distich—

"For purging souls and fitting them for Heaven,
A place, by fame, there is to Brendan given."

Most maritime nations have their great mythical navigator. As Sinbad was the Arabian Ulysses, so Brendan was the Irish Sinbad. Indeed some of Brendan's adventures are the same as some of Sinbad's, just as some of Sinbad's are the same as some of Ulysses'. Yet the Arabian and Irish Odysseys bear no greater resemblance to each other, or to their Grecian prototype, than the most remarkable edifices of their respective countries and periods. The wanderings of Ulysses may be compared to the severe majesty of a Hellenic temple, where all the subordinate parts, harmonising together, form one grand integral whole. The voyages of Sinbad resemble a Byzantine mosque where richly decorated but irregularly distributed galleries, with a confused crowd of gilded pinnacles and minarets, alternately engage and distract the attention; while the voyage of St. Brendan, like the mystical Round-tower, sublime in its simplicity, points to the period when the creeds of Paganism had not ceased to be the superstitions of Christianity.

Brendan was an Irishman, and an abbot: one day some monks arrived at his convent from a voyage, and, among other relations, gave him the following account of an island they had visited:—

"In that ylonde was joye and myrth ynough, and all the erth of that ylonde shyned as bright as the sonne, and there were the fayrest trees and herbes that ever any man sawe, and there were many preeyous stones shynynge bright, and every herbe there was ful of fygures, and every tree ful of fruyte; so that it was a glorious sight and a hevenly joye to abyde there.—And this place is called Paradyse Terrestre, the place that Adam and Eve dwelte in fyrste, and ever should have dwelled, yf that they had not broken the commandment of God."[h]

After passing, as they supposed, but half-an-hour on this delightful spot, they returned to the ship, and found, to their surprise, that they had been six months on the island. I need scarcely observe how frequently a similar unconscious lapse of time occurs in fairy tales. Stimulated by this recital, St. Brendan and twelve of his monks took ship, and sailed about for seven years, and, after numerous adventures, they too arrived at "paradyse terrestre." They also—"sawe an ylonde full derke, and full of stench and smoke; and there they herde grete blowynge and blastynge of belowes, but they myght se no thynge, but herde grete thondrynge, whereof they were sore aferde, and blyssed them ofte. And soone after there came one stertynge out all brennynge in fyre, and stared full gastly

[h] This island has had a political recognition, being mentioned in the celebrated bull of Pope Alexander VI. in 1493, when he divided the world between the Spaniards and Portuguese. It was also mentioned in the treaty by which the Portuguese ceded to Spain the sovereignty of the Canaries. As late as the last century a ship load of ignorant fanatics, trusting to sanctity rather than science, sailed from Seville in search of the "paradyse terrestre." Whether they discovered it or not has never been known: they never returned.

on them with grete staryng eyen, of whom the monkes were agast, and at his departyng from them he made the horryblest crye that myght be herde. And soone there came a grete nombre of fendes and assayled them with hokes and brennyng yron malles, whiche ranne on the water, folowyng fast theyr shyppe, in such wyse that it semed all the see to be on a fyre; but by the wyll of God they had no power to hurte, ne to greve them ne theyr shyppe. Wherefor the fendes began to rore and crye, and threwe theyr hokes and malles at them. And they than were sore aferde, and prayed to God for comfort and helpe; for they sawe the fendes alle about the shyppe and then semed that all the ylond and the see to be on a fyre. And with a sorrowfull crye the fendes departed from them and returned to the place that they came from. And then St. Brendan told to them that this was a part of Hell, and therfor he charged them to be stedfast in the fayth, for they shold yet se many a dredefull place or they came home again."[i]

Le Grand d'Aussy, in his elegant work (*Fabliaux, ou Contes, Fables, et Romans, du XIIe, et du XIIIe, Siècle, Paris*, 1829) asserts, but without giving any authority, that Owen or Owaine, the Knight, whose name in the different versions of the legend is variously spelled, was no other than Ivaine, son of King Urien, Knight of King Arthur's round table, and hero of *Le Chevalier au Lion*, the *Iwaine and Gawaine* of early English romance. Probably this assertion is founded on a curious story of Stephen Forcatulus, who, giving as his authority certain serious commentaries of Merlin! [seriis Merlini commentariis] relates how King Arthur, Gawaine, and Merlin visited St. Patrick's Purgatory; but were deterred from entering it, by sulphureous vapours, and the noise of souls lamenting for the loss of their bodies. For, says worthy Stephen, they relate that through that hole was a passage to the place of spirits, or where the souls of those are purged who, whilst they lived, polluted themselves with vice and such sins as may be washed away; that being purified they may from thence fly joyfully to Heaven. It may be that Patrick made use of this device to terrify the cruel and savage people from their sins, by showing them a place of punishment so close at home.[j]

King Arthur, in a laudable spirit of inquiry, applied to Merlin for information respecting the origin of the Purgatory, but the seer could not afford any, until he had eaten the palpitating heart of a newly-killed mole; a delicacy rather rare in Ireland. Then, continues Stephen, Merlin, being di-

[i] The voyage of St. Brendan is evidently founded on traditional stories of early adventurers. At a period when, as Hobbes says, "there were no arts, no letters, no society, and, worst of all, continual fear of violent death, and the life of man solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short"—the zeal of Irish Christian missionaries to propagate the humanising truths of the Gospel carried them as far even as Iceland. Traditional accounts of Hecla, seen during an eruption, would make a good foundation for the above extract. Surius, in *Commentar. ad annum* 1537, says—"Whatsoever philosophers write, there be certain mouths of Hell, and places appointed for the punishment of men's souls, as at Hecla in Iceland, . . . the . . . ts of dead men are familiarly seen, and sometimes talk with the living: God would have such visible places, that mortal men might be certainly informed that there be such punishments after death, and learn hence to fear God." A certain Sheep-island visited by St. Brendan referred in all probability to one of the Faroe group—in Icelandic the Farey-jar, or Sheep-islands.

[j] "Ferebatur enim ad manes pervius specus, vel certe ad locum, in quo animæ eorum qui dum viverunt sese vitiis ac labe aliqua cluibili inquinaverunt recocti expolirentur, ut purgatæ et hilares inde in cœlum evolarent. Forte Patritius inter immanes et efferatos populos lepido commento usus fuerat, quo magis eos a peccatis deterreret et ultricem spelunean adesse pene domi ostenderet." *De Gallorum Imperio et Philosophia*. Paris, 1580.

vinely inspired, ascribed this cave of Patrick to the agency of Ulysses, who in his wanderings was driven into Ireland; that, at first, Ulysses with his sword dug it about a cubit deep, and afterwards, in course of time, the hole enlarged, sinking to a great depth—*which truly is not far from the truth.* (!) For Homer says that Ulysses, being desirous to consult with infernal spirits, went to a place near to the flowing of the sea, and there made a memorable pit, to which also Claudian makes reference:

A place near Gallia's utmost bounds, with seas
Environed round, there stands Ulysses, there
With blood, 'tis said, the silent ghosts t' appease;
Where mournful plaints, (scarce heard) yet men do hear,
Of flitting shades; pale images there be
And walking forms of men, erst dead, that see.[k]

Johannes Camers, Claudian's commentator, also connects the cave of Ulysses with the Purgatory of Patrick. Referring to the above lines, he says there are some who consider this to be the place which the inhabitants of the country term the cave of St. Patrick, of which strange and almost fabulous things are related.[l]

The learned Warburton has propounded the curious idea, that the descent of Æneas into the infernal regions, as sung by Virgil, was no more than an allegorical description of the initiation to the Eleusinian mysteries. And M. D'Aussy asserts, on the strength of a passage in Strabo, (which I must confess to never having been able to find,) that mysteries of a similar description were introduced into Ireland, at a very early period. At any rate, the adventures of the Knight—his preliminary expiations, fasts, and penitences; the spacious subterranean hall, and the perilous proofs, by fire, water, and air, previous to complete purification—bear a more than remarkable resemblance to the admission of a neophyte to the mysteries of Ceres.

Another classical prototype of St. Patrick's Purgatory is found in the cave of Trophonius. Erasmus was so struck with the resemblance, that he says:—"Which fable of Trophonius truly seems to me so like to that of the cave of Patrick in Ireland, that it may be believed the one was born of the other."[m] Jacobus Vitriaco tells us also that—"There is a place in Ireland called St. Patrick's Purgatory: he that goeth into it, not being truly penitent and contrite, is presently snatched away by

[k] "Proinde imbutus numine Merlinus, specum Patritii Ulyssi in decantatis illis erroribus in Hyberniam acto ascripsit. Effossum quidem primum Ulyssis ense ad cubiti mensuram, deinde cuniculum altissime impressum successioni temporis increvisse—quod profecto non multum a vero abhorret. Nam inferos allocuturum Ulyssem Homerus dicit ad fluxum Oceani ivisse et foveam fecisse memorabilem, id quod innuit Claudianus:

Est locus extremum pandit qua Gallia littus,
Oceani prætentis aquis, quo fertur Ulysses
Sanguine libato populum movisse silentem.
Illic umbrarum tenui stridore volantum
Flebilis auditur questus. Simulacra coloni
Pallida defunctasque vident migrare figuras."
Ibid. (Claudian in Rufinus.)

[l] Sunt qui existimant hunc eum locum esse quem Specum D. Patricii ejus regionis incolæ nominant, de quo mira et prope fabulosa narrantur. *Commentar. in C. Jul. Solin. Polyhist.* Basl. 1557.

[m] Quæ quidem Trophonii fabula mihi adeo videtur similis ei quæ de Patricii Antro, quod est in Hibernia, fertur, ut altera ex altera nata credi possit.—*[illegible] Chiliades.* Aureliæ Allobrogum, 1606.—Quaint old Burton, in his *[illegible] Melancholy*, says:—"I would have a convenient place to go down with Orpheus, Ulysses, Hercules, Lucian, and Menippus, at St. Patrick's Purgatory, at Trophonius' den, Hecla in Iceland, Etna in Sicily, to descend and see what is done in the bowels of the earth."

devils, never more to be seen. But being truly contrite and confessed, he shall there be purgated, being drawn through fire and water and a thousand kind of other torments. Who also returns purified from the aforesaid Purgatory, *can never after laugh, play, or love any thing in this world.*'"[n]

It is right, however, to observe that this was not the universal opinion with respect to the effects of a visit on the mind of a visitor. Messingham says, there are many who have repeatedly entered the cave of Purgatory, yet nevertheless after their return they play, laugh, and that heartily too; they converse in the world with worldly people, and transact the business of the world as if they had never entered that place.[o]

The ramifications of fiction are illimitable—to trace them would be an endless task. Many other fables having a close affinity with the legend in question might be adduced. The Monk of Saltrey had abundance of materials to work upon; and that he did not make a worse use of them is to be ascribed to the genial influence of Christianity, which, even in its darkest moods and aspects, diffused a clearer, healthier moral light than ever emanated from Paganism in its palmiest period or most enlightened era.

The legend of the Knight, in its original Latin prose, soon spread over all Europe, and was incorporated in that part of the history of Roger of Wendover, which has been erroneously ascribed to William of Paris. It was also rendered into several metrical versions in the vulgar tongues. Two English metrical versions are in existence: one a MS. of thefourteenth century, in the Auchinleck collection in Scotland; the other a MS. of the fifteenth century in the Cottonian collection in the British Museum.[p] Marie of France, the celebrated Anglo-Norman poetess of the twelfth century, versified the legend in her own language;[q] and two other French metrical versions are also in the British Museum.[r] In the following abstract of the legend, I have alternately used a translation of the original Latin prose, and the more interesting metrical version, entitled *Owayne Miles*, in the Cottonian collection.

Sir Owen, the Knight, was an Irishman, who, with great courage and fidelity, had long served in the armies of Stephen, King of England. Wishing to see his parents, from whom he had been absent many years, he obtained leave from Stephen to visit his native country. There, he was suddenly seized with remorse for his many sins; for he had lived a life of blood-shed and rapine, and had not scrupled to plunder churches, burn convents, maltreat nuns, and apply the most valuable and sacred

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[n] In Hybernia locus quidam habetur, qui Purgatorium Sancti Patri nuncupatur. Si quis illuc ingressus fuerit, statim a dæmonibus raptus et necatus; nunquam posteri revertitur. Qui autem vero contritus et confessus ingreditur, per ignem, et aquam, et per mille genera tormentorum a dæmonibus correptus ibidem purgatur. Qui autem a prædicto loco purgatus regreditur, nunquam deinceps ridere potest, vel ludere, vel aliqua quæ in mundo sunt diligere.—*Historia Orientalis et Occidentalis*.—Duac. 1597.

[o] Multi sunt, qui iteratis vicibus, Purgatorii Antrum subierunt, et tamen regressi ludunt, rident, cachinnantur, in sæculo et sæcularibus versantur, tractantque negocia hujus mundi, non secus ac si ingressi locum illum nunquam fuissent.—*Florilegium Insulæ Sanctorum*.

[p] Caligula, A. II.

[q] See *Poésies de Marie de France, Poète Anglo-Normand Du XIIIme. Siècle, par Roquefort, Paris*, 1820.

[r] Cottonian, Domitian, A. IV., and Harleian, No. 273.

utensils of the church to his own profane use and benefit. In this state of mind he applied to a worthy bishop, who prescribed a suitable penance for the soul's-health of the repentant sinner. But Owen, considering the penance much too light for his many misdeeds, proposed to enter St. Patrick's Purgatory. At first the bishop, pointing out the great peril of the adventure, refused to grant the requisite permission, but the Knight, persevering, at length obtained a letter of license, addressed to the prior of the Purgatory.

With respect to the origin of the Purgatory, the legend informs us that, when St. Patrick was endeavouring to reclaim from the devil the bestial people of Ireland, by telling them of the torments of Hell and the delights of Heaven, the incredulous heathens said "we cannot believe in such things unless we see them." The Saint then prayed to God that he might be enabled to show the benighted Irish a convincing proof of the truth of his doctrines, and his prayer was granted. For, one day, as Patrick was alone in the wilderness, the Saviour appeared and presented to him a book of Gospels and a staff [baculus Ihesu], and, as the metrical version—to which I now turn—relates:—

"Showed hym that he myght se
Into the erthe a pryvé entré:
Hit was yn a depe dyches ende,
'What mon,' He sayde, 'that wylle heryn wende,
And dwelle theryn a day and a nyght,
And holde hys byleve and ryght,
And eom agayne that he ne dwelle,
Mony a mervayle he may of telle.
And alle those that doth thys pylgrymage,
I shalle them graunt for ther wage,
Whether he be sqwyer or knave,
Other purgatory shalle he none have.'
Als sone as He had sayde Hym so,
Ihesu wente the bysschope fro.
Seynt Patryke then anon ryght,
He ne stynte, ner daye ne nyght,
But gatte hym help fro day to day,
And mayde ther a fayr abbaye,
And chanones gode he dede therinne.
Unther the abyt of Seynte Austynne.
Seynt Patryke lette make ryght welle,
A dore bowden with iren and stele,
Lokke and key he made therto
That no man shulde the dore undo."[a]

[a] As a specimen of the Anglo-Norman version of *Marie*, I append the following rendering of the latter part of the above extract.

Encel lui fist une abbaie,
Ou il mist gent de bone vie;
Chanoignes ruilez i admis,
Si lur ad bien lur ordre apris.

In this place he built an abbey,
Where he placed men of good life;
Canons regular he put there,
Who well knew their order;

El cimitiere vierement,
Est la fose vers Orient,
De mur l'enclost, portes i fist,
E bone fermiare i mist;
Pur co k'um ni puet entrer
Si par lui nun ne la aler.

In the cemetery truly
Is the hole toward the east;
With a wall enclosed, he made gates,
And placed strong fastenings on them,
That no one might enter
Unless by permission. (?)

The legend then goes on to state that the key of the cave was given into the charge of the prior of the abbey; also, that many persons, even in St. Patrick's time, perished in the Purgatory. Others, however, returned to relate the wonders they had seen, and their relations were always taken down in writing and preserved in the island church, which was named Reglis. St. Patrick also ordered the following ceremonies to be observed, whenever a person was admitted into the Purgatory. The pilgrim had first to go to the bishop of the diocese, declare that he came of his own free will, and request permission to enter the cave. The bishop invariably warned the postulant from proceeding farther with his desperate purpose; but, if the latter persisted, he ultimately received a recommendatory letter to the prior of the island. On the pilgrim's arrival, the prior also earnestly dissuaded him from entering the Purgatory; but if he still remained steadfast he was taken into the church, where he passed fifteen days[t] in prayer and fasting; and on the sixteenth morning, after having confessed and received the sacrament, he was led in procession to the door of the Purgatory. Here the prior made a last solemn attempt to dissuade the pilgrim from entering; but if he still persisted, he was suffered to enter. The prior then locked the door, and it was not opened again till the following morning. If the pilgrim were found, when the door was opened, he was received with great joy, and led in procession to the church, where he prayed and fasted for another fifteen days, before he returned home. But if he were not found when the door was opened, it was understood that he had perished in Purgatory; the door was closed and the name of the unfortunate man never mentioned after.[u]

A pilgrim entering the Purgatory; from an illuminated MS. of the fifteenth century, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. No. 7588. A. F. "Ici commence le Purgatoire de monseigneur St. Patrice."

The Knight, after having duly performed all these preliminary ceremonies, was led to the cave.

"Every prest and every man
Went with hym, yn processyoun;
And as lowde as they myght crye,

[t] Vincent of Beauvais, Jacobus de Voragine, Higden, Campion, and Stanihurst, all record the fifteen days' fast as imperative, previous to entering the cave. According to Erasmus, however, the preliminary fast was in his time reduced to three days; and he makes a very shrewd guess respecting the reason why even a three days' fast was required. "There do not want, he says, very many at this day, who descend thither, but first almost killed with 3 days' fasting, lest they should enter with their wits about them." "Non desunt etiam hodie permulti qui descendunt, sed prius triduano necti jejunio a sano cæpite ingrediantur."—*Peregrinatio Religionis*.

[u] This is almost suggestive of a legend, told by Pennant, of the chapel of St. Oran, in Iona. Oran, it seems, had been dead and buried for three days, when St. Columba, anxious to have a last look at his friend and brother, had the grave opened, and found the buried man alive. But St. Oran very imprudently beginning to relate his extra-mundane experiences, declared there was no such place as Hell. Columba, shocked at such dangerous heterodoxy, immediately ordered the earth to be shovelled in upon Oran, putting an end for ever to him and his heresy.

For hym they songe the letanye ;
And browte hym fayre ynto the entre,
Ther as Syr Owayne wolde be."

Here the prior gave him his last instructions :—" You will enter here," said he, " in the name of Jesus Christ, and will walk till you come to an open plain, where you will find a hall, skilfully constructed; enter it and God will send you guides who will tell you what you are to do." When shut in the cave, the Knight found himself in utter darkness ; but, as he slowly though undauntedly groped his way, it soon became lighter, and he went on faster till he arrived at a vast wilderness, where he saw a lofty and spacious hall, built on pillars. Entering the hall he met with fifteen venerable men, habited as ecclesiastics, in white garments, who received him with looks of kindness. Only one spoke, and addressing our hero, said :—" Blessed be God, who has inspired you with the good resolution to enter this Purgatory for the remission of your sins ; unless, however, you bear yourself manfully, you will perish, body and soul. For, when we shall leave this building, it will be filled with a multitude of unclean spirits, who will torment you greatly, and threaten to torment you more. They will promise to conduct you to the gate by which you entered, if by chance they can deceive you, so that you may go out again ; but, if you suffer yuuself to be overcome by their torments, or terrified by their threats, or deceived by their promises, and so yield to them assent, you will perish both in soul and body : if, however, you be firm in faith, repose all your hope in the Lord, and yield neither to their torments, their threats, nor their promises, but despise them with all your heart, you will be purified from all your sins, and will behold the torments of the wicked and the repose of the good." " But," continued the speaker—

" Yf they wolle the bet or bynde,
Loke thu have thys worde yn myn le :
' Ihesu, as thou arte fulle of mygth,
Have mercy on me synfall Knygth !'
And evermore have yn thy thowght,
Ihesu that the so dere hath bowght."

The old men then departed, leaving the Knight to his own meditations, which were soon interrupted by a host of hideous demons surrounding him on all sides. No tongue could tell their number, nor no thunder that ever was heard was equal to the noise they made. At first, however, receiving their visitor as an old friend, they said to him :—" Other men who serve us are content to wait till they are dead before they come here, but you honour the company of your masters so much that you come to us soul and body whilst you are still alive : are you come to receive punishment for your sins ? You will have nothing but affliction and sorrow among us ; but, as you are so zealous a servant to us, if you wish to return through the door by which you came in, we will conduct you thither unharmed, that you may again enjoy yourself in the world and all its pleasures." But Owen, not to be deceived by this diabolical snare, sturdily replied :—

" [illegible]

I betake me to Hym that me hath wroght.
Then the fendes made a fyre anone
Of blakke pyche and of brenstone ;
They caste the Knygth theryn for to brenne,
And alle they begonne on hym to grenne.
The Knygth that peyne full sore he thowgth,
To Ihesu he called whyle he mowgth:
'Ihesu,' he said, 'fulle of pyté,'
Help and have mercy on me!
Alle that fyre was queynte anone,
The fendes flowen away everyehone ;
And then the Knygth anone up stode,
As hym hadde syled nowgt but gode."

Owen was then led to the place where the sun rises in mid winter :—

" A fowle contreye,
Wher ever was nygth and never day,
It was derke and wonther colde :
Yette was ther never man so bolde
Hadde he never so mony clothes on,
But he wold be cold as ony stone ;
Wynde herde he none blowe
But fast it frese bothe hye and lowe."

This was the place of torture by extreme cold. The Knight was next led through four different fields of punishment by extreme heat, fiery serpents, toads, spits, &c., that need not be too particularly described. In the fourth field, however, was the wheel of fire ; an immense wheel of red hot iron, to which many thousands of souls were affixed by red hot nails, and which revolved so rapidly that the whole seemed one solid mass of flame. Owen had a share of each of these punishments, but, when he called on the name of God, was always released, and felt no more pain.

He was next taken to the top of a lofty mountain, where he found a multitude of souls, sitting with their toes toward the cold north wind, awaiting their doom with a greater terror than that which men feel at the approach of death. Anon, a terrific hurricane blew them all into a stinking river, where, as often as their heads appeared above the surface, they were thrust down again by the busy fiends. Owen was blown in with the rest ; but, calling on the name of Jesus, the demons dared not to molest him, and he managed to crawl out on the bank of this horrid stream, of which the less that may be said about it the better. The fiends then, taking him to the mouth of a deep well of fire, said :—" This fiery pit is the entrance to Hell, from which there can be no redemption. Here we live, and as you have served us so diligently, here you shall remain with us for ever. But if you will listen to us, even now, and return to the door by which you came in, you shall pass unharmed." Again the Knight defied the demons, and they without ceremony pitched him in. Owen was now in a horrid plight. In his terror he at first forgot to call for aid, and consequently sunk a vast depth

in this fiery abyss, tenanted by millons of souls. But, regaining his presence of mind, he again invoked the name of the Saviour, and again was thrown out of the pit unscathed. He now found himself surrounded by a new troop of demons, who informed him that his previous guides were deceivers, that he had not yet seen Hell, but they would show it to him. So they dragged him off to

"A grete watere,
Broode and blakke as any pyke;
Sowles were theryn mony and thykke;
And also develes on eche a syde,
As thykke as flowres yn someres tyde.
The watere stonke fowle thereto
And dede the sowles mykylle woe:
Up they came to ese them a stownde,
The develes threw hem ageyn to the grownde,
Over the watere a brygge there was—"

This was "the bridge of the three impossibilities," being so slippery, so narrow, and so lofty, that it was impossible on account of any one of these defects, apart from others, for any human being to cross it. Then—

"The develle said, 'Knyghte here may thu see
Into Helle the ryght entree;
Over thys brygge thu meste wende,
Wynd and rayne we shulle the sende;
We shulle the sende wynde full goode,
That shulle the caste ynte the floode."

In this predicament the Knight again betook himself to prayer.

"Syr Owayne kneled then adowne,
To God he made hys orysonne:
'Lord God,' he said, 'fulle of myghte,
Have mercy on me synful knyghte.
Sende me Lord thy swete grace,
That y may thys brygge passe,
Help Lord that y yn not falle
For to lose my labor alle.'
Then on the brygge anow he zede,
'Thesu,' he sayde, 'help at nede.'
Hys one foote he sette fyrst on,
And called to Thesu bryght, anon
He felte hys foote stande stedfastly,
And then other foote he sette thereby;
He called for helpe yn that place,
Thesu that ever shuld be and ever was."

In spite of a horrible yelling made by the fiends to intimidate him, the Knight succeeded in crossing the bridge, and found his troubles over, the devils not daring to follow him farther. After pro-

ceeding a short distance, he came to a wall as bright as glass, in which was a gate adorned with gold and jewels. Here he was met by a procession of men and women, dignitaries of the church, emperors, kings, barons, and earls, wearing crowns, and carrying golden palm-branches, who welcomed him with great joy, and proceeded to show him the beauties of the country.

"Hyt was grene and fulle of flowres
Of mony dyvers coloures;
Hyt was grene on every syde,
As medewus are yn someres tyde.
Ther wer trees growyng full grene,
Fulle of fruyte evermor y wene;
For ther was fruyte of mony a kynde,
Such yn the world may no man fynde.
Ther they have the tre of lyfe,
Theryn is myrthe, and never stryfe;
Frwyte of wysdom also ther ys,
Of the whyche Adam and Eve dede amysse."

A venerable bishop explained all these strange sights to Owen, informing him that as he had passed through Purgatory, he would never have to go there again. And further said—

"Y shalle the telle what hyt ys,
Thys ys erthly paradyse;
Here dwelld Adam and Eve that wer not wyse,
For an appull that they ete,
Alle ther joye they did forfete,
And nyne hundredde yere and fyftene,
He lyved after yn erth with sorow and tene
And foure thowsande vj hundredde and iiij. yere,
He was yn helle with Lucyfere;
Tyll that Goddes deythe was
To feteh hym out of that place,
And alle hys kynd that wer hym by
That wordy were to have mercy,
And ledde them forthe wyth hym y wysse,
Ryght ynto hys owene blysse."[v]

"All of us," continued the bishop," whom you see here, were born in the flesh and in original sin, and, by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, which we received in our baptism, we attained this Paradise; but, since we all committed actual sins without number after we were baptised, it was only through being purified of our sins, by receiving punishment for them, that we were able to reach this place.

[v] "Io ere nuovo in questa stado
Quando ci vidi venire un possente,
Con segno di vittoria incoronato.
Trasecci l'ombra del primo parente,
D'Abel suo figlio, e quella di Noè,
Di Moise legista e ubbidiente,
Abraam patriarca, e David re:
Israel con suo padre e co'suoi nati,
E con Rachele, per cui tante fe,
E alti moltri, e feccgli beati."
Dante. *Inferno.* Cant. iv.

All who are here have been in those places of punishment which you have passed through, and all whom you saw there, except those in the pit of Hell itself, will at last come to this place of rest. Thus, as you behold, we here enjoy much tranquility, though not yet worthy to enter into the full happiness of Heaven. Some of us, however, are daily taken into Heaven, and our number is kept up by daily arrivals of purified souls from Purgatory."

The bishop next led Owen to the sloping side of a mountain, and, telling him to look up, asked him what he saw. The Knight replied,—"the colour of gold which is red-hot in the furnace." "That," said the bishop, "is the celestial Paradise, and up that hill is the way to it." After feasting on the delicious food prepared for the saints in this earthly Paradise, Owen signified his intention of remaining there; but the bishop said

"Nay sone, thu may not soe,
Agayne thu muste algate goe,
And telle other men that thu hast sene,
And yn what a venter thu hast bene.
For yn the worlde thu must dye ons,
And leve ther thy fleshe and thy bons
And come yn sowle hyther agayn,
When wyll we of ye be fayne.
The Knyghte sawe that he moste go
And weeping then he zode him fro."

Travelling now by a short and pleasant cut, the Knight soon found his way back to the mouth of the cave.

"To the dore come Syr Owayne,
And there the prestes came hym agayne,
And chanones with merry songe,
With mony a wepynge tere amonge.
Alle they wer bothe gladde and blythe,
That Godde had saved the Knyght alyve.
Ffyteen days he dwelled thore,
Wyth the chanones, and sumdele mor
And tolde what he had sene,
And yn what paynes he had bene,
And ofte, he tolde them, to mak hem wyse,
Of the joyes of Paradyse.
Then they wrytend yet fro hys mowthe
That thu subl now yt ys the trowthe.
Then he toke the crosse and the staf in honde,
And aspte forthe yn to the holy londe.
Azayne he come hole and sounde,
And aftyr that lyved a grete stownde.
And after, when he waxed olde,
And hys bodye wax unbolde,

He dyed and wente the bryghte waye,
To the blysse that lastes aye.
To that blysse, He us brynge
That of alle is Lord and Kynge."

Explycit Owayne.

Henry of Saltrey thus gives his authority for this wonderful story :—

It happened, at this time,[w] he says, that Gervasius, Abbot of Ludæ[x] had obtained from Stephen, King of England, a grant of land on which to build an abbey in Ireland, and he sent one of his monks, named Gilbert, to the King, to take possession of the land and to build on it the abbey. But Gilbert, coming before the King, complained that he did not know the language of that country : to which the King replied that he would with God's help, soon find him an able interpreter ; and calling Owen before him, he bade him go with Gilbert and remain in Ireland. This was agreeable to Owen, who gladly went with Gilbert and served him faithfully ; but he would not assume the habit of a monk, because he chose rather to be a servant than a master. They crossed over into Ireland, and built an abbey, wherein the Knight Owen acted as the monk's interpreter and faithful servant in all he did. Whenever they were alone together, the monk asked him minutely concerning Purgatory and the marvellous modes of punishment which he had there seen and felt, but the Knight, who could never hear about Purgatory without weeping bitterly, told his friend for his edification, and under the seal of secresy, all that he had seen and experienced, and affirmed that he had seen it all with his own eyes. By the care and diligence of this monk, all that the knight had seen was reduced to writing, together with the narratives of the bishops and other ecclesiastics of that country, who for truth's sake gave their testimony to the facts.

"Lately, also, did I speake with one who was nephew of Patrick, the third of that name, the companion of Saint Malachias, by name Florentianus, in whose Bishopriek, as he said, that Purgatory was; of whom having curiously inquired, he answered, Truly, brother, that place is within my Bishopriek, and many perish in that Purgatory ; and those who by chance return do, by reason of the extreme torments they have endured, ever look pale and languid. The aforesaid narration, the said Gilbert did often repeat in my hearing, according as he had often heard it from the knight."

As the legend itself is utterly beneath criticism, I shall not stop to inquire how King Stephen could grant land in Ireland ; or how regular canons of St. Augustine could be contemporaries of St. Patrick. Let it suffice to say that the story thus given to the world spread with great rapidity and was received as indisputable fact. About fifty years after the date assigned to the descent of the Knight, Cæsar of Heisterbach exclaims—"If any one doubt of Purgatory, let him go to Scotia [as Ireland was then termed] and enter the Purgatory of St. Patrick, and his doubts will be expelled." About fifty years later, the place is thus mentioned in a geographical treatise, the *Image du Monde*

[w] According to Roger of Wendover, when the treaty of succession was made between Stephen, King of England, and Henry, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine—that is, in 1153.

[x] Louth, in Lincolnshire.

[y] "Qui de Purgatorio dubitat, Scotiam pergat, Purgatorium Sancti Patricii intret, et de Purgatorii pœnis amplius non dubitabit.—*Dialog. de Mirac. sui Temporis.*

written by Gnatier de Metz. "In Ireland, there is a place from which, day and night, issues fire; it is called the Purgatory of St. Patrick, and if any persons enter it without having fully repented, they are immediately carried off, and no one can tell what has become of them. But if they have confessed and repented, they will pass through many torments, and be purified from their sins." [z]

There can be little doubt that, at a very early period after the first promulgation of the legend, many foreign pilgrims adopted the advice of Cæsar of Heisterbach, and satisfied themselves by visiting so wonderful a place. But there is no earlier authentic account of a pilgrimage to Lough Derg than is found in the Patent Rolls in the Tower, under the date of 1358, and published in Rymer's *Fœdera*. This is in the form of letters testimonial, granted by Edward III. to Malatesta Ungarus, of Rimini, and Nicholas de Beccariis, a Lombard, in proof of their having faithfully performed the adventurous pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory. As these documents are really curious, showing the great interest taken in the matter at the period when they were written, I shall conclude this paper with a free translation of one of them; a reprint of the original will be found in the note below.

"The King to all and singular, to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Malatesta Ungarus, a noble gentleman and Knight of Rimini, presenting himself before us, hath declared that he, leaving his own country, had with many toils gone as a pilgrim into the Purgatory of St. Patrick in our Kingdom of Ireland, and for the usual period of a day and night remained there enclosed as one of the dead; earnestly beseeching us that for the confirmation of the truth thereof we would please to grant these our royal letters. We, therefore, taking into our consideration the dangers and difficulties of his pilgrimage, and howsoever the assertion of so noble a man might be to us sufficient, yet are we further informed thereof by letters from our trusty and well beloved Almaric de St. Amand, Knight, our Justice of Ireland, and from the Prior and convent of the said Purgatory, and others of great credit, as also by clear evidences, that the said nobleman hath duly and courageously performed his pilgrimage; we have therefore thought worthy to give favourably unto him our royal authority concerning the same, to the end that there may be no doubt made of the premised; and that the truth may more clearly appear, we have thought proper to grant unto him these our letters under our royal seal. Given at our Palace at Westminster the twenty-fourth day of October." [a]

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[z] "En Irlande si est un leus,
Ke jar et nuit art cume feus,
K'um apele le Purgatoire
Seinz-Patriz, e est feus encor,
Ke s'il i vient ankunes genz.
Ke n'i seient bien repentanz,
Tantost est raviz e perduz,
K'um ne set k'il est devenu.
S'il est confez e repentenz,
Si va e passe meinz turmenz,
E s'espurge de ses pechiez."
MSS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 10105.

[a] "Rex universis et singulis ad quos presentes literæ pervenirent salutem. Nobilis vir Malatesta Ungarus de Arminio, miles, ad presentiam nostram veniens, mature nobis exposuit quod ipse nuper a terræ suæ descendens aribus, Purgatorium Sancti Patricii infra terram nostram Hiberniæ constitutum in multis corporis sui laboribus peregre visitaret, ac per integram diei et noctis unius continuatim spatium, ut est moris, clausus mansserat in eodem; nobis cum instantia supplicando ut in premissorum veracius fulcimentum regales nostras literas itide sibi concedere dignaremur. Nos autem ipsius peregrinationis considerantes periculosa discrimina, licet tanti nobilis in hac parte nobis assertio sit accepta, quia tamen tam dilecti et fidelis nostri Almarici de Sancto Amando militis, justiciarii nostri Hibernie, quam Prioris et conventus loci dicti Purgatorii, et etiam aliorum auctoritatis multæ virorum literis aliisque claris evidentiis, informamur quod dictus nobilis in peregrinationem suam hujusmodi rite perfecerat et etiam animose, dignum duximus sibi super his auctoritatis nostræ testimonium favorabiliter adhibere, et ut sublato cujuscunque dubitationis involucro, premissorum veritas singulis lucidius pateat, has literas sigillo regio consignatas sibi duximus concedendas. Dat. in Palatio nostro Westm. vicesimo quarto die Octobris.

NOTES ON OLD IRISH MAPS.

Before an actual survey was made of Ireland, any idea of the extent of the country was, of course, mere guess-work, and, as *omne ignotum pro magnifico habetur*, probably in excess of the real dimensions. The first survey was not commenced until four centuries after "the Conquest" by Henry II., viz., in 1570; previous to which time so little was geographically known that, in 1541, the Viceroy and Council enforced their opinion that it was impossible to make "a general conquest" of Ireland, by declaring they believed the island to be fully as large as England and Wales together![a] The proportion between the two islands was found, however, to be as 18 to 30;[b]—Ireland being in length and breadth but 306 by 207 statute miles, and only comprising some 27,000 square miles, while Great Britain contains within 380 by 300, or some 50,000. The English settler, Payne,[c] thought that the map of Ireland published by Mercator in 1584 exhibited the country as little more than a quarter of its real size; and he entertained a similarly exaggerated idea as to the amount of the population, believing that the Queen had six millions of loyal subjects in Ireland; whereas Sir William Petty's census determined the entire population to be only 1,320,000. So erroneous, on the other hand, in diminution of the actual size, is the first rough map to which we shall refer, dated 1567, that this kingdom, therein designated "the island not far from England, commonly called Hireland,"[d] measures upon it in length from "Beare head" to "Fayre Forland" only 260 English miles, and in breadth from Howth to Arran but 130. At that time it was, indeed, as will be seen, as dangerous for an Englishman to attempt a general survey in the country as to take arms in a general conquest, the Gaelic people having been as hostile to a map-maker as a soldier; for, to their minds, the appearance of either surely portended confiscation. The deficiencies and misrepresentations in the *Topographia Hiberniæ* of Giraldus are well known to be owing to his having written when the "conquest of the Irish" was so incomplete that no Englishman dared venture into the Irish regions; the fate of some who had done so having been that, *ubi capti*, as Cambrensis wrote, *ibidem decapitati*; and one remote territory, that of the Cinel Conaill (Donegal, which seems in that age to have been *terra incognitissima*,) continued geographically unknown down to the commencement of the 17th century, when a surveyor, one Berkeley, who was employed by Lord Mountjoy to draw a map of the north of Ulster, was be-

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[a] S. P. III. [illegible]
[b] Harris' Ware, II. [illegible]
[c] [illegible] Tracts, [illegible]
[d] "[illegible] *Anglia vulgare Hirlandia* [illegible]

headed by the people of Tirconnel.[e] Many difficulties, natural as well as artificial, precluded, at that period, the making of any but small and inaccurate maps of the island, the largest of which is on a scale of eight miles to the inch. But immediately after the *expugnatio* effected by Cromwell, the most stupendous survey ever made of any country was laid down by Sir William Petty, on charts which became the "terriers" by which almost all the land of Ireland has since been held by Englishmen.

Taking these ancient maps in chronological order, the first,[f] of 1567, is more a rough outline of the island, merely giving the names of some scattered towns, and the titles of a few nobles and lords of the land, than a map; and if comparison be made between it and an Ordnance county map of our time, it will be seen that while the one omits many a broad river, the other, in its delineation of every little rivulet and mountain turn, will serve as a chart to the wanderer over the wildest waste. Well and agreeably do we remember how our pedestrian tours, in quest of scenes in the county of Wicklow which antiquarian lore rendered interesting to us, were assisted by the small but most accurate Ordnance sheet of that county. It guided us unerringly over those mighty mountain waves of earth, trackless as the ocean, in the centre of desert Wicklow to the desolate and sublime head of the Glendalough Valley;—to Farrancerin, in Glenmalure, where Fiach O'Byrne was chased into a cave by the English red-coats, and killed like a hunted fox;—to Castlekevin, where the insolent favourite of Edward II. the effeminate Gaveston, built a castle to curb those mountain robbers, the O'Tooles;—to the head of the glen of Imaile, where the silver Slaney bursts forth from its rocky fountain;—and to the scene of the defeat given by the O'Byrnes and Fitzgeralds to Arthur, Lord Grey, the patron of the author of the "Faëry Queene," and the "Arthegal" of the poet's political allegory. Having praised these excellent government maps, let us regret that the powers which be have not given to each county in Ireland such an admirable epitome of its history and other circumstances as that we possess of the shire of Derry. Not even a trackway is shown on any of these old maps. Locomotion, in 1567, is, however, maritimely represented by a drawing of the little despatch-boat with one sail, which occasionally left Dublin for England,—a slow mode of communication the ingenious author of the gigantic Irish maps endeavoured to improve by starting a quick-sailing "double vessel"—an enterprise which proved of more promise than performance,[g] so that the "pacquet-boat" continued to ply until recently superseded by steam-ships. The original draught sheet of 1567 has on it several notes in the hand-writing of Lord Burleigh, such as "B. W.," to designate the new and important fort of Blackwater,—for this rude chart appears to have been one of the few maps the great minister could refer to whenever the wars and territorial questions of

[e] S. P. O. 28th August, 1600. Dayes to Lord Salisbury.

[f] Bound in S. P., vol. III. The signature it bears on [illegible] is probably that of John Gough, a London printer, and, as such, the publisher.

[g] Add. MS. [illegible]

Ireland came before him; and he found it so insufficient that, immediately after the destruction of Shane O'Neill, he despatched an English surveyor, one Robert Lithe, into Ulster, to make a map of this province. But in November of that year, the geographer wrote to say he had quitted the North:—"On account," wrote he, "of the short days and dark and foul weather, and the boggy mountaynes; as well as every valley full of mire and water; and the season more opportune for the Irish out-leapes, stealthes, and spoiles, than for the travail of such company as should have guided and safe conducted me from place to place."[h] How soon he resumed his labours does not appear; but it seems he returned to the North, and supplied topographic information, as in January, 1569, Lord Burleigh asked "for a more particular description of Ulster," which, as well as a correct estimate of the area from whence the rebel chiefs derived their power, was much wanted. In 1521, Lord Lieutenant Surrey had adduced as the reason why O'Donnell and Hugh mac Neill, without mentioning O'Neill of Tyrone, would strenuously resist the projected recovery of the dominion of Ulster, that these potentates, with their subjects, were, as he believed, in possession of more land "than six of the greatest men of land in England;" and, in 1541, the lord deputy and council stated as a proof of the "great power" of the latter chieftain, that "the countrie under his rule is no less, as we judge, than the shire of Kent." The English county is fifty-eight statute miles long by thirty-six broad, and contains 983,680 statute acres; and Tyrone, irregular in form, 754,395. The power of O'Neill extended from Lough Erne to Carrickfergus, and from the Foyle to Newry; and the Earl of Tyrone was able to raise war-taxes equivalent to a million and a half yearly to carry on his defensive rebellion.[i] The surveyor, Lithe, wrote to the Secretary of State, 24th March, 1570-1, to say he was proceeding in his toilful journey through Ireland; and he described his endeavours to make a "plott" of the kingdom; but stated that he had been prevented from doing much by the dangerous state of the country, and that as yet he had only mapped "Mr. Marshall of Ireland's lands in Ulster, and Sir Peter Carew's in Idrone." The first of these maps is of the large estate of Sir Nicholas Bagenal, marshal of the viceregal hall and of the army, on whom the queen had conferred a grant of Newry, Greencastle, &c., in the county Down, and whose son, Dudley, purchased Idrone from Sir George Carew in 1585, and was slain in the ensuing year by the Kavanaghs, the old possessors.[j] Lithe continued at work, being reported in January, 1571-2, to be "making a map of the realm at the expense of government;"[k] and he forwarded in this year a curious account of his expenses, one of the items of which is "for a *lethere boat*, with three men and a gyde, to serche the greate ryvere of Mayore."[l] How long he was about the work does not appear. But certainly it took him more time to make the small maps of the four provinces which will be shown to be his, and to reduce them into one

[h] S. P. O.
[i] £80,000 a year. Moryson, II. 191.
[j] Carew MS. 635.
[k] Irish Corresp. S. P. O. Vol. 30.
[l] Logan's Gael, I. 179.

of the whole kingdom, than thirteen months, the brief period within which Sir William Petty and his staff completed the Herculean labour of a general survey, the townland maps of which extend over twenty-two counties, admeasured field by field, on the enormous scale of forty perches to the inch![m] The etymon of *Down Survey* as given by Petty may be mentioned, as it is omitted in the elaborate history of that great work. He explained the name as a technical expression, of measuring by the chain and needle a mile in length, and not by the 1,000 acres of superficial extent; or, in other words, the bases only of *downs* or hills were measured.[n] This derivation, however, differs from that in the history, which, with more probability, derives the term as distinguishing this survey, which was laid *down* on maps, from preceding surveys that were not mapped. Some of these "book" surveys are anterior to any map; and each was a *catalogue raisonnée* of a "country." One of the most curious of these is a description of Ofaly, from a survey made in 1550 by the surveyor-general, Walter Cowley, (ancestor of the Duke of Wellington,) under great peril from the O'Conors; for, besides that the undertaking was consequent on the attempt to colonize their land, he penetrated and described their fastnesses and the island-retreat of their chief, situate in the furthest part of Ofaly, into which, until a few years back, no English army "had been known to enter."[o] This great district was the first Irish country that was surveyed, having long been "the gall of the Pale," as it was called, and therefore the most important to be conquered. Not only was O'Conor himself "the scourge of Englishry," from whose rich domains in Meath he received a "black rent" equivalent to £10,000 a year,[p] but his territory was "the doore whereby myche warre and myschyff entered emonges the king's subjects,"[q] excursions having very frequently been made through it into the Pale by the predatory tribes of the west. Loyal subjects could not enjoy the fruits of their labour so long as the tanistic system, that by which clansmen held land, precluded them from industry, and compelled many of their number to live as rapacious warriors. While the one held their estates hereditarily, the other had only shifting life apportionments. Having taken into consideration the supposed great extent of the Gaelic countries, the Anglo-Irish government reasonably advised that, instead of attempting to conquer them, feudal grants should be made to the Irish of the lands of which they were in possession "by long usurpation by strength of the sworde, which," as was truly observed to the king, "they take for as just a title as your Highnes' subjects doo hold their landes by from the conquest." Yet even this conciliatory measure could not be successful in producing peace, because the clansmen were opposed to their chieftain receiving a grant, as he had no right to an estate. The Gaelic names of many countries denote that the proprietorship was vested in the tribe; *Feara*, or "men," giving title to "Ferra-managh,"[r] &c.; *clann*, or "descendants," to Clan-hugh-buoy, Clan-brassil, &c.; and *Cinel*, or "tribe," to Kinel-Conaill,

[m] "History of the Down Survey," p. 80.
[n] Reflections, 1656.
[o] S. P. vol. II. 443. Do. 1537.
[p] Do. 1515. £300 yearly.
[q] Do. p. 485.
[r] Map of 1565. in S. P. vol. III.

&c. But as the chieftain's name was most known to the English, they generally gave it to the territory. Thus we read of McEochaghan's country,"[s]—but which is stated to be "called Kenaliaghe;" the latter indeed being the Gaelic and rightful name, for the land belonged to a *cinel* or *clann*, and Mageoghegan, as their chief, was only entitled during his tenure of office to a seigniory or tribute due to him as senior, and to some demesne-land, probably small in extent, although "his" country was, as stated on the map, twelve miles long and seven broad; for when he was made "lord" of the Fox's country, he only obtained about ten acres as a demesne.[t]

Robert Lithe would certainly seem to have gone through his hazardous survey slowly and prudently; so that, however interrupted by winters, he does not appear to have been stopped either by a casualty so extreme as that which subsequently cut the survey of Ulster short, or by hindrances such as were afterwards raised against the work of another English geometrician, one Arthur Robyns, who, after the suppression of Desmond's rebellion, was sent to survey the forfeited estates in Munster, in order that they might be allocated to English undertakers, and who wrote to Secretary Walsingham from Adare,[u] describing the labours he had undergone; stating that great impediments were thrown in his way by the inhabitants, that large stones had been cast down on him from the battlements of a castle in Lord Condon's country, one of which had injured his leg, and that in most places he was refused lodging and victuals. This was in the autumn of 1587, and it would seem by instructions of 1585,[v] when the queen's surveyor, with this Robyns, and two other persons, were to be employed in *perfecting* the survey, and by a letter dated 10th October, 1584, from Sir Valentine Browne to Lord Burleigh, that the work was so difficult as to have extended over three years. This knight then wrote from Askeaton that he had travailed hard in superintending the survey, passing through bogs and woods, scaling mountains, and crossing many bridgeless rivers and dangerous waters, in which he lost some of his horses, and was twice nearly lost himself; that his son had broken his arm, and that the service was so severe that many of his men had fallen sick. He described the towns and villages as ruined, and that but one of thirty persons was left alive. Desmond's lands, thus void of inhabitants, were, however, "replenished with wood, rivers, and fishings." Sir Valentine's companion, Sir Henry Wallop, wrote at the same time of the great fertility of the soil, and rejoiced to think that England was about to repeople the province with a new and better race.

Hitherto the regions of "the king's rebels" and "Irish enemies" had seldom been "perused" by Englishmen, unless during martial expeditions led by the Viceroy. L. D. Pelham wrote to Walsingham:[w]—"If your honor did vewe the commodious havens and harbors, the bewtie and comoditie of this river of Shenan, which I have sene from the head of it beyond Athlone to the ocean, you would saie that you have not in any region observed places of more pleasure, nor a river of more comoditie."

[s] Map of 1565 in S.P. vol. III.
[t] Arch. Miscell. I. 179.
[u] S. P. O. 17. Sept. 1587.
[v] Desid. Cur. Hib. I. 75.
[w] S. P. O. 5. April, 1580.

He added,—"the people of Munster be the most docible and reformable of all others." Even the extent of the countries nearest to the metropolis was unknown. Dr. Hanmer wrote of Fiach O'Byrne's territory as "some twenty Irish miles long and sixteen broad, and able to furnish about 1,000 men,"[x] statistics which err in exaggeration. This district did not belong to any county; and in 1579, Sir William Drury, with the object of "making the wyld territories of the mountaines shire ground"—"passed through the Byrnes and Tooles, and visited Feagh McShane and all his strength and fastness, from whence," remarked the lord justice, "he would have been content to have spared my company."[y] Carriages and cars are driven eagerly in our days into this and more rugged regions, to see that which Englishmen evidently did not discern in the 17th century—the picturesque:—so at least we may judge by the author of *Pacata Hibernia*, who calls Mangerton "a most hideous and uncouth mountain!"

The original of the map of Idrone engraved by Blaeu, made prior to 1571 by Lithe, is now bound up in the Carew M.S. 635. This little barony is historically remarkable, as it was in the field of "Balligawran,"[z] near Garrychoill, that Richard II. knighted "the young and puny bachelor," afterwards Henry V. before attacking the Kavanaghs in their woods; and three years subsequently, at Callestown, on its borders, Mortimer, Earl of March, the heir presumptive to the throne, was slain in an obscure skirmish,—to avenge whose death King Richard came again to these woods, and lost the throne by his absence from England. Our notice of this ancient forest is merely given to lead to deductions as to the authorship of the maps engraved by Speed and Blaeu. Lithe complaisantly gave the forest the name of "Carew's wood" to gratify his employer; and as "Sir Peter Carew" stands conspicuously as the proprietor of estates on the Munster and Leinster maps engraved by Speed in 1610, and copied by Blaeu, it is most likely that the engravings of these and the other provinces were taken from original surveys made by Lithe whilst this knight was living, that is before 1575.[a] On Norden's map, of later date, we read "*super* Sir P. Carew." Sir Peter died at Waterford in 1575, as we learn from his cleverly painted portrait in Hampton Court. Speed, as it would seem, in copying Lithe's survey, made several interpolations, such as "Fort Mountjoy," a construction of anterior date to the decease of men whose names Lithe inscribed as those of living personages. A surveyor of 1572 rather than of 1610 must be considered the originator of Speed's maps, which bear the names of "Sakle Bay," (the renowned Sorleyboy M'Donnell) who died in 1590, and "Bryan Carrogh" O'Neill of 1577, long prior to the days of Speed, whose anachronisms in giving bygone names are still more evident in the Munster map.

The original of "A Single Draught of Monster" [illegible] the frequent occurrence of Burleigh's handwriting upon it, to have been made in [illegible], as it also bears the name of "Sir P. Carew."

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

may have been executed by Lithe. The old maps of this province have some curious notes. "Whyt stones peynted lyke dyamonds" shows where the Kerry crystals are still found. "The great rigkes" designate the mountains now called "McGillicuddy's reeks." "Jhon Mcdonell rymer," on another range, manifests that in the 16th century the "rhymers," as descendants of the druidic Tuatha De Danaan, retained the retired situations in which their predecessors used to study learned and abstruse arts.[c] In some places there are either quotations from Cambrensis, or figures of men and *ferœ naturæ*, which (like the cameleopards and unicorns on old maps of the world) filled the void of the mappist's knowledge, and give us accurate likenesses of the mailed galloglasses[d] of Donegal, and pictures of wolves and red-deer in Western Munster.[e] "Here the water howls," points to the cliff where McSweyne's water "gun" still thunders; and by "the Hauke's rocke" on a mountain in his country the surveyor indicated an eyrie of "Irish hawks," so highly prized in England before "fire-guns" were used, and therefore carefully recorded on old surveys wherever their nests existed. Sites historically memorable are denoted on some of these geographs. Norden's indicates the scene of the butchery of the indomitable rebel, Shane O'Neill, namely, the quay of Ibuyg, near Cushendun. It also shows the headland on which those hardy settlers, the Scots under MacDonnell, lit beacons when they wanted the aid of bows and broadswords from Cantire and the Isles. The most remarkable annotation is that inserted on the map of Ireland itself by Sir William Petty, one hundred years after the important event it celebrated, viz., the death of that mighty traitor, the 16th Desmond. "Here," is inscribed on the atlas of the kingdom, at a place on the borders of Slievluachra called Glennaginty, "the Earll of Desmond was slain." His death, thus recorded, made room for grants of half a million of fertile acres, which barely afforded him an epitaphless grave.

"Owen Maugh," described as "the ancient seat of the Kinges of Ulster," and now to be seen as a large rath about two miles west of *Armagh*, was probably one of the raths thrown up by the primeval settlers. It subsequently contained the celebrated palace of Emania. The first settlements were, of course, in the *Magha* or plains, and the primary enclosure the circular rampier formed to protect cattle from wolves, called a *rath*, and, when strengthened as a fort, a *dun* or *lis*, within which the first building was raised, which, from being thatched, possibly received from *peile* (similar to the French *paille*, straw, Latin *culmus*, whence *culmen* a roof,) the name of *peil-l's*, the "palace" so frequent on these old maps. Some topographic names are so strangely orthographied as to be almost inexplicable, as "McNegosarahan," "Benmadigan;," &c. Gaelic nomenclature sorely perplexed the English mappers. At the time Charles II. was much occupied in examining claims to Irish estates, he ordered the lord lieutenant to change "the barbarous and uncouth names of places in Ireland, which much retard the reformation of the country, into others more suitable to the English tongue," a provision embodied in the Act of Explanation, but not acted upon; for as Sir Richard Bingham[f]

[c] F. M. 24.
[d] 1567.
[e] Map of Bantry, 1568. S. P. O.
[f] S. P. O. 6th March, 1587-8

observed in reply to a proposal of Lord Burleigh to bestow new denominations on lands in Connaught,—"each quarter of land in Clan Costello had its several name long before we were born, and it is not in us to new name them now." To this sentiment we cordially say *Amen!*

The map next in apparent date of publication is taken from a copper plate discovered not long since at Armagh, bearing an engraving of a rude idea of Ireland supposed to have been executed for Sir Thomas Smith, the secretary of state, as the ensuing inscription is placed opposite the Ards:—"Glane insule partem Anglis[g] incolendum de du Elizabetha Anglie[h] regina, coloniaque ducta est bno" (domino?) "Smetho, equite aurat, 1572." This map is extraordinarily incorrect in its nomenclature. "Glane insule" may have meant the promontorial part of "Glan y boy," namely the northern Ards, granted to the secretary's son, whose house, "Smithe's castle," where he was slain the next year[i] by Niall O'Neill, (afterwards "chief captain of Clandeboy and the Ards,"[j]) is depicted on the map of Antrim and Down, given at page 120, vol. I. of our Journal. The father of this Niall figures on the map of 1572 as "Bryan ferty," [*Faghartach.*] sole lord of all "Glan y boy:"—and, as the Earl of Essex called him "the rebel Brian Erto," he may have been the inaugurated and popular chief, and the knighted Sir Brian mac Phelim only "the queen's O'Neill" of Clandeboy. The name of the latter's son, ancestor of the late Viscount O'Neill, appears on Norden's map as "Shane mc Brian," close to "Ca: Edend:" [Edenduff-carrick] now known as Shane's castle; and close to Belfast, in the place where the once great Bryan Faghartach was lord, we read "Sir Arthur Chichester's keis," which perhaps, as "Chichester's *ciosa*" or "rents" was intended to denote the land newly paying rent to the English knight. Ancient woods that have long since disappeared are the most marked features on these maps. "Keylaltagh," (*coill Uitagh*, or the wood of Ulster.) a "great forest" *anno* 1515, into which it was then proposed to drive back the clan-Hugh buoy, covered the eastern shore of Lough Neagh broadly in 1572, but is barely shown on the succeeding map; for Lord Mountjoy, Sir Arthur Chichester, and their soldiery, had not only "fed upon the seigniories" of the senior of the clan, but had "felled his forest trees." "Killetra," depicted by Lithe as a district of timber, seems to have been the sylvan name (*coill-io-Tar*, the lower wood) of part of Glanconcadhain, which latter was the great "glins" that Dockwra was exaggeratingly told were 20 miles long by 10 broad,[k] and was "all covered with thick wood." South of this fastness a great entrenchment, one of "Tyrone's ditches," is depicted as some 12 miles in length. Glanconcadhain is described as "a great forest, well nigh as large as the New Forest in Hampshire." But as permission was given to the Irish Society in 1609 to cut oak, &c. in Killetra, to the immense value of £50,000, for the purpose of building Londonderry, the country around "Glanconcan" looks blank on the ensuing map. It had been recommended to reserve the timber of this district for the use of the royal navy—a

[g] To judge by these allusions, and by one of the names of the map, as a chart of "Irlandt," it is probable the plate was engraved in Holland.

[i] Devereux's Lives, I. 41.

[j] Devereux's Lives, 108.

[k] Celtic Society's Miscell. 264.

[l] Davies, S. P. O. 1607.

purpose referred to in Edmond Spenser's enthusiastic apostrophe in praise of Ulster, a passage we are irresistibly tempted to transcribe in full:—"And sure," wrote the English poet, "it is yet a most beautiful and sweet country as any is under heaven, being stored throughout with many goodly rivers, replenish'd with all sorts of fish most abundantly, sprinkled with many very sweet islands, and goodly lakes like little inland seas, that will carry even ships upon their waters, adorned with goodly woods fit for building of houses and ships, so commodiously, as that if some princes in the world had them, they would soon hope to be lords of all the seas, and ere long of all the world. Also full of good ports and havens opening upon England, as inviting us to come unto them to see what excellent commodities that country can afford; besides, the soyl itself most fertile, fit to yield all kind of fruit that shall be committed thereunto. And lastly the heavens most mild and temperate." To this eloquent description of the natural features and amenities of our province may be added a vivid paragraph from a letter written from Lisnegarvy in 1629 by Lord Conway:[m]—"Greater storms," observed the writer, "are not in any place, nor greater serenities; foul ways, boggy ground, pleasant fields, waters, brooks, and rivers; full of fish and game;—the people in their attire, language, and fashion—barbarous; in their entertainment—free and noble."

None of the maps mentioned show where the fictitious island called I-Brasile is to be found, although it not only figures on many old charts,[n] but the good author of the chorographic account of West Connaught stated it was "often visible, and sett down in cards of navigation." This fanciful land was sometimes supposed to be perceived in the offing of the bay of Galway—the idea of its existence evidently originating in optical illusions, like the *fata Morgana* of the straits of Messina, frequently visible in the bay. As early as 1161, phantom-ships were seen in the harbour, sailing *against the wind*[o]—a plain though scarce-remembered omen that the port will yet be the trans-Atlantic packet station! I-Brasile, this enchanted isle, was the Elysium of the ancient Irish, rarely perceptible to ordinary eyes, and accordingly disbelieved by practical topographers. One of our modern poets, Gerald Griffin, gracefully drew a trite moral in his verses on this "Isle of the Blest," from a fancied fatal attempt to reach a domain of happiness of so illusory a nature. But another poet, of brighter imagination, whose allegory of "the Phantom Bark" conveys a similar lesson, adheres in his ode of "Arranmore" to the charming idea of the islet "Eden", "whose bowers," he declared, "at sunset oft are seen." The belief in the existence of I-Brasile was so actual as to induce Leslie of Glasslough, "a wise man and a great scholar," to incur the expense of taking out a patent grant of this *insula fatua* from Charles I., as an estate *in futuro*, "whenever it should be found!"[p] Many endeavours were made to discover the fabled island. Of these a pretended one is the most notable, in having been the means of conveying the eminent and sincere republican, Edmond Ludlow, out of danger: he, with others implicated in a conspiracy to seize Dublin castle,

[m] S. P. O.
Hardiman's Irish Minstrelsy, I. [illegible] 370.

[n] Four Masters.
[p] Hardiman, I. 3, 0.

having escaped to the continent in a ship chartered at Limerick "to sail in search of I-Brasile."[q] These antique maps show a few of the more noted islands of Ireland, such as in early ages were the retreats of her persecuted sages and saints, and, in more recent times, of her chieftains; as Torree, the maritime refuge of "O'Dogherdy;" and the islet in Lough Derg, which, as the abode of the first missionary, Patrick, subsequently gained European celebrity.

Nearly forty years elapsed after the survey by Lithe before the next, Norden's,[r] which was made between 1609 and 1611. The historical changes that had occurred in the interim appeared on the face of the country. In place of forests, most of which had been cut down to destroy the harbourage of the native Irish, Ulster now bristled with forts—stamps of the recent fierce contest, and named from the generals distinguished in it—"Charlemount," "Mountjoy," "Mount-Norris," &c.; while the names of many new English proprietors of the soil stand where the Gael had been uprooted.—An unpublished map of Eastern Ulster, preserved in the State Paper Office, shows the sites of "Mandeville's," "Audley's," "Welsh's," and "Power's" castles, within the ancient settlement founded by De Courcy. An extraordinary cave, near Belfast, is also noticed.

The volume of maps published by Sir William Petty, in 1685, is now scarce, and sells highly. His great work, the *Down Survey*, mapped this country, as has been already observed, on a larger scale than ever was adopted for any other kingdom; and it is remarkable that Ireland, totally unsurveyed in the middle of the sixteenth century, was not only thus a century afterwards the subject of an extraordinary and magnificent geographical work, but has again been so in our days, by the completion of that unparalleled undertaking, the Ordnance Survey.

[q] 13th March, 1662-3, Addit. MS. 1328.

[r] Engraved in S. P. vol. III.

THE ROUND TOWERS OF ULSTER.

(*Continued from vol.* 4, *page* 71.)

DOWNPATRICK, COUNTY OF DOWN.

"Here good Columba showed in Christian skies
The lucid day-star of salvation rise."

In Harris's *County of Down*, or rather in the work published in 1744, which commonly bears his name (though the editor's introduction states that "it is not a revised edition of a treatise formerly published on the same subject, but an entirely new work") the following passage follows the notice of the Cathedral:—"There is at the West end a very high Pillar, that has been neatly repaired at the expense of Dean Daniel." In another work, *A Tour through Ireland in* 1779, is found the following notice:—"No antient monument remains in the old abbey, but here is a round tower which stands about 40 feet from the old cathedral, is 66 feet high, the thickness of the walls 3 feet, and the diameter on the inside 8 feet. On the west side of it is an irregular gap, about 10 feet from the top, near a third of the whole circumference being broken off by the injury of time: the entrance into it is two feet and a half wide, and placed on a level with the surface of the ground; in which last particular it is pretty singular, for in others the door is placed from 8 to 12 feet above the ground, without any steps or stairs, so that there is no getting into these buildings without a ladder; unless it may be judged (which is probable enough) that this difference has been occasioned here from the raising of the ground by the rubbish of the old cathedral near it, fallen into ruinous heaps."

The Rev. John Dubourdieu in his *Statistical Survey of the County of Down*, published in 1802, gives the following particulars regarding the fate of the same building:—"It was pulled down in the year 1790, to make room in the rebuilding of that part of the old Cathedral next which it stood, and from which it was distant about forty feet. The height was sixty-six feet, the thickness of the walls three feet, and the diameter eight feet. When the Tower was thrown down and cleared away to the foundation, another foundation was discovered under it, and running directly across the site of the Tower, which appeared to be a continuation of the church wall, which at some period prior to the building of the Tower, seemed to have extended considerably beyond it. This curious circumstance was observed by several gentlemen at the Spring Assizes of the above-mentioned year."—These and similar notices

rendered it desirable to include Downpatrick in the places explored. In the present instance the inquiry was limited to an attempt to ascertain the site of the Tower, and by excavating the place, perhaps discover some remnants of the base. Mrs. Hall, the sextoness of the cathedral, who had been born close to the spot, had no difficulty in pointing out the place where the building had stood; and this being on the gravelled area near the south-east angle of the cathedral, and the permission of the Dean, the Rev. Theo. Blakely, having been obtained by the kind interference of the late Dr. McDonnell, of Belfast, no objection was made to the investigation. Mr. Aynsworth Pilson, of Downpatrick, communicated any information that he possessed.

The exploration took place on the 19th Sept., 1842, in the presence of Mr. Grattan, Mr. R. MacAdam, Mr. Smith, C.E., of Belfast, and the writer. From the nature of the ground it soon became evident that the very foundation of the tower must have been removed in lowering the level of the surface when the cathedral was repaired. No person was found who had any recollection of the cross-walls mentioned by Dubourdieu; but an old man who was drawn to the place by curiosity, stated that he had a distinct recollection of the appearance of the foundation, which he had seen when it was uncovered; and he described it with its offsets at the base just as found in the other round towers previously examined. The evidence, however, of Dubourdieu is not to be slighted, though it does not lead to any definite conclusion. It seems improbable that the tower was raised on the foundation of an older building, for this would throw back works of stone to a very early date; and besides, practical builders, such as the architects of these towers undoubtedly were, would not have balanced a cylindrical edifice of such elevation on a cross-wall of this kind. It may perhaps be allowable to suggest that the cross wall seen by Dubourdieu's informants was part of a cell similar to one already described as found at Trummery.

It has been said that the destruction of the Tower was determined on in consequence of the rivalry between two great nobles of the county, and that Lord De Clifford, the proprietor of the town of Downpatrick, opposed this piece of Vandalism. No reference is made to the Tower in the Act which received the Royal Assent on the 6th April, 1790, sanctioning certain arrangements for raising funds to repair the Cathedral. In the *Belfast News Letter*, 20-25 Dec., 1789, No. 5465, an advertisement is found soliciting subscriptions for the restoration of the Cathedral of Downpatrick, estimated at £6,000; of which sum his Majesty King George III. had agreed to contribute, by a royal letter, £1,000, if the remainder were made up. A long list of noblemen and others, with their respective contributions, is appended. It is further stated, that the loss of the fund for the economy, belonging to the Dean and Chapter, having been the obstacle to the repair— the Dean, the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Annesley, had agreed to give £300 of his official income, to be allotted out of the tithes of his deanery during his incumbency, and to petition Parliament to pass an Act to perpetuate and secure the same from him and his successors;—all the patronage to be at the disposal of the Dean, for the time being.

A VIEW OF THE OLD ABBEY OF DOWNPATRICK,

BEFORE IT WAS REBUILT, ANNO 1790.

Our illustration is taken from a drawing in the possession of Dr. Reeves, and it corresponds with a ruder sketch in the writer's collection. In 1795, Mr. John Turner, architect, issued a prospectus and received subscriptions for two prints to be published—a south view and a south-east view of the old Cathedral, but it is not ascertained if any of these are now to be found. The prospectus contains the following words :—"As it has been a misfortune, in this and many other countries, that remains of antiquity have been taken down, or sometimes new-modelled, without leaving a trace behind to give to future ages an idea of beauties that ornamented a country, it may not be improper, at this period, to offer to the public an exact outline of that Gothic piece of architecture, as beautiful, perhaps, as any that ever adorned this kingdom."

SAUL, COUNTY OF DOWN.

The Right Rev. Dr. Denvir, R.C. Bishop of Down and Connor, having expressed an opinion that, near Saul, were traces of a Round Tower, indicated by marks on the sward and by the colour of the crops grown on the spot, Dr. Hodges, the present Professor of Agriculture in Queen's College, Belfast, was good enough to make the necessary inquiries. The following is his report :—

"*Downpatrick, February* 20, 1844.

"I visited and carefully examined the fields and ruins in the neighbourhood of Saul Church. I also conversed with several of the old inhabitants, and find that the appearance of the place, tradition

and history, all agree in proving that no Round Tower ever existed at the ancient 'Barn of St. Patrick.' The remains of a wind-mill, which appear in the field adjoining the church, must have deceived Dr. Denvir. This mill, though now only to be discovered by an elevation in the field, was at work in the memory of some of the old people. Saul was not occupied as a place of worship before the arrival of our national saint. A barn belonging to the chief of the Dal Diehu at that time stood where the present church is erected. The Life of St. Patrick very carefully relates the cession of this barn by the chieftain upon his becoming a convert, for the purpose of its being employed as a Christian temple. It is not probable that all mention of an edifice so important as a Round Tower would have been omitted if it had existed there."

MAGHERA, COUNTY OF DOWN.

"A mile east of Briansford, on the road to Dundrum, at Maghera, are the ruins of an old church, where is a noted burial-place, and near it formerly stood an high Round Tower, which, about 30 years ago, was overturned by a violent storm, and lay at length and entire upon the ground like a huge gun, without breaking to pieces, so wonderfully hard and binding was the cement in this work." Such is the brief notice found in *The Ancient and Present State of the County of Down*, published in 1744. The tower, therefore, fell about the year 1711, or 145 years ago. The South Munster Society of Antiquaries, in a document quoted by Dr. Petrie,* gives the authority of Sir William Betham, for a statement that "the Tower of Maghera has also been opened" and human remains found. Mr. Joseph William Murphy, of Belfast, having made some inquiries respecting this, received the following note from Mr. Andrew Lindsay, dated Maghera, 5th Nov., 1843:—"I have just been over to see the Round Tower and to ascertain in what state it is. I find that Mr. Duffin, in whose glebe it is, has had it dug about to a considerable depth, and all the soil cleared off, and that the inside has been sunk several feet deep."

The name of this parish was originally Rath-Murbhuilg, afterwards, as in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, edited by Dr. Reeves, simply Rath; and subsequently with a prefix, Machaire-Ratha. Only about twenty feet of the lower part of the tower now remain, containing the doorway, which is towards the east, and about seven feet from the ground.

ANTRIM, COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

"Oft on those shores they bride the youthful dance
With measured footstep, in the martial clan,
Or with a solemn, slow, majestic tread
Round the tall tow'r the holy circle [illegible]

By the kind permission of the proprietor, George J. Clarke, Esq., of Shaw's Bridge, the writer was enabled, on the 29th April, 1845, to examine this [illegible] of the Irish Round Tower,

* Transactions R. I. A. [illegible]

which stands in his lawn, near the centre of the parish, and at the distance of about half-a-mile from the town of Antrim. The ruins and foundations of other buildings have been removed from its vicinity within the memory of persons still living, as well as large quantities of human remains, proofs of the existence formerly of a religious establishment having a cemetery in connection with it. Dr. Reeves, in his excellent work so often quoted, gives the ancient name as *Oentraibh*, the "one ridge," and distinguishes it from nOendruim,* which name he considers only applicable to the Nendrum of Strangford Lough, where that rev. gentleman discovered the remains of a Round Tower, of which a description is given in a paper read by him before the Down and Connor Architectural Society, and published in their transactions, which he has kindly permitted to be printed so far as is necessary, in the present series of papers.

The tower of Antrim, one of the most perfect in Ireland, is constructed of rubble masonry, and owes its admirable preservation very much to the anxious care of the father of the present proprietor, under whose judicious directions it was repaired, without, however, the slightest interference with the original design. It is still cared for with equal watchfulness, as will be shown towards the conclusion of this paper. According to measurements taken at the time of the repairs alluded to, the height of this building is 93 feet: the writer, calculating by the shadow, made it 91 feet. The outer circumference near the base is fifty feet two inches, and the greatest internal diameter nine feet. The thickness of the wall at the door is three feet nine inches. All the openings in this tower, and they are numerous, are square-headed. The door is on the north side, about seven feet four inches above the true base of the building or the original level of the ground. Contrary, however, to the usual occurrence, the level of the ground about this tower has been considerably lowered by removing not only the accumulations of ages, but a part also of the original soil, so that it had been found necessary to form an artificial bank up to the base or first offset of the foundation. This bank, it could be seen, on examination, covered a second offset, and, according to the evidence of the labourers employed, a third also.

The door-way, as well as the original apex of the conical roof, are formed of a dark-coloured porphyry, brought, probably, from the district near Doagh called Sandybrae: on a stone of the

* In the introductory paper of this series, last time, we have used *Aondruim* in error for Oentraibh. "It is very true," says Dr. Reeves, "that the name Antrim is but another form of the word *Aondruim*. Thus Keating styles Randal M'Donnell, Earl of Antrim, '*Iarla Aondroma*;' and thus Colgan and O'Flaherty use the adjective '*Andromensis*' to denote 'of Antrim.' But that the name, in the instances cited above, does not apply to Antrim on the Six-Mile-Water, will appear from the following passage in the *Felire Aenguis*, or the Festiology of Angus Ceile De, a writer who flourished about the end of the eighth or the commencement of the ninth century:—

"The renowned and prosperous champion
of Oendruim celebrate.
That is Mochoe of Oendruim, in Delvin Ethra
or nine hills that are in the place wherein is
his church.
Or, Oendruim, that is, one hill, is the entire
island, and in Loch Cuan it is. *Festiol*, 23d June.

This testimony is confirmed by the ancient Biographies of St. Patrick, which describe *nOendruim or Œndrumia*, as paying an annual tribute to the Church of Down:—"et redditur a Dhue." *Vita* ii. *a Patricio Juniore, Cap.* 32. How much more reasonable is it to understand this of the Œendruim of Strangford Lough, so contiguous to Down, and recorded in a document of the twelfth century, to have been then tributary to its bishop, than of Antrim, which was situate in a distinct and independent diocese."

same material, surmounting the lintel, but somewhat shorter, a cross is sculptured, that has been figured as a tail-piece in our introductory notice. Dr. Petrie, at page 400 of his *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*,* gives a very accurate drawing of the door-way; but, contrary to his wont, gives a very incorrect outline of the cross.

It has been doubted that either the door-way or the cross belonged to the original work, particularly the stone with the cross: this idea receives some confirmation from the finish of the part inside where the wrought stone joins the tower-wall, leaving a space somewhat angular. Mr. Clarke says it was supposed that a wooden door-way fitted here: this might, however, have been an after adaptation. It is proper to add, that the work of the cross is very ancient, and that the similarity of the stone employed is a reason in favour of considering all these parts of cotemporaneous construction. There are four small quadrangular windows immediately under the roof, one of them in a direct line above the door; four other windows are spaced at different heights around the tower; one on the north-east, one on the south-west, and two on the south side, nearly on a line with the upper window. The door itself is four feet four inches high, and very nearly two feet wide. From the cill of the door the interior of the building narrows downwards, and the stones of the foundation from the level of the offsets project inwards. The masonry of the base is very bad indeed; so much so that the tower has quite the appearance of having been built on a cairn of stones, without the use of mortar:—for this reason, after several tons of loose stones had been thrown out it was considered advisable to leave the exploration unfinished, and Mr. Lanyon, C.E., who was present, recommended that the interior of the foundation should be filled up by a solid mass of mason-work, formed of large stones, carefully grouted together: this has been accordingly done, and it is satisfactory to reflect, that the exploration, if devoid of archæological result, has most probably been the cause of the preservation of this very perfect monument of bygone days. The tower tapers considerably; the breadth of the shadow of the top is only ten feet and a half, while that of the part near the base is upwards of seventeen feet. The only modern restoration is the very point of the conical roof, which had been struck off some years ago, by lightning. The remains of the original stone are preserved by Mr. Clarke. In form it very much resembled a Scotch lowland bonnet; and it has a square hole in the centre, into which a small wedge-shaped stone fitted, giving the appearance, when viewed from the ground, of a sharp point.

The exploration of this tower having been imperfect, no deduction can be drawn from it; but, as far as could be ascertained, the building did not contain any human remains. The sectional drawing which accompanies the introductory paper of this series, exhibits the position of the several openings.

The early notices of ecclesiastical buildings at Antrim are not numerous. Lewis, who is often

* Transactions of R. I. A., vol. xx.

correct in his statements, seems to confound Antrim with Nendrum, when he speaks of a monastery founded here in 495 by Aodh, a disciple of Saint Patrick. The *Four Masters* have the following references:—

Age of Christ, 612, Fintan of Oentrebh, abbot of Bangor, died.

Age of Christ, 822, Bangor plundered by the Danes, and its oratory destroyed, and the relics of Comghall scattered from the shrine which contained them, according as Comghall himself predicted, when he said:—"It will be true, true by the will of the supreme King of Kings, my bones shall be brought, without defect, from the beloved Beannchair to Eantrobh.

Age of Christ, 877, Muredhach, son of Cormac, abbot of Oentraibh, died.

Age of Christ, 941, Cellach son of Bec, lord of Dalaradia, was slain in Oentribh, by his own tribe.

Age of Christ, 1018, Antrum spoyled by Fermanach.

"This last passage," says Dr. Reeves, "which is wanting in the *Four Masters*, but supplied by the *Annals of Ulster*, is thus translated in the old English version, made for Sir J. Ware. O'Conor renders it *a prædonibus maritimis*. The original is *do feraib*, which does not seem properly rendered in either case."

Age of Christ, 1030, Kindred Owen, broke O'Longsy, his ship in midst of Antrim. [To the old English translation Dr. Reeves adds in a note, "O'Conor renders the passage:—The men of Tyrone destroyed O'Longsy's ships in sight of Antrim. The *Four Masters* are silent concerning the occurrence. The lordship of Dalaradia was hereditary in the O'Longsey (Lynch) family from 985 downwards."]

Age of Christ, 1096, Flann O'Muregan, superior of Aentruibh, died.

Age of Christ, 1147, Roscrea and Oentrob were burned.

The name occurs also in the annotations on the Felire of Aengus, at July, 31.*

CARRICKFERGUS, COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

In an old document amongst the State Papers entitled "*The contents of a survay or informacion given in the xxith of July, 1588, before two commissioners, by certeyne aldermen and Burgesses withe others, men of good sufficiencie, to geve judgement in these accons for the repairinge of decays whiche be found in the mill and abbey, beinge store houses and houses of office, to be employde to the use of her Majest' garrison within the towne of Carigfergus, &c.*," the following words occur:—"Also we do finde one wachehouse or Turret sometymes caled a steple withe certeyne lofts belonginge to the same, whiche is to be repaired, rooved, and slatted, the estymacion of whiche charge is xv^{li}." The expression "steeple," so often applied by the settlers to the round towers, induced the writer to suppose that Carrickfergus had at one time possessed one of these buildings; and this view is confirmed by a map published in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*,† as furnished by E. P. Shirley, Esq., M.P., where a building is shown almost close to the wall next the sea, which, as far as can be judged, is intended to represent a Round Tower.

* Reeves, p. 278.

† Vol. iii., p. 276.

RAM'S ISLAND, COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

On this island, the largest in Lough Neagh, the remains of a Round Tower exist, which, on application to the late Viscount O'Neill, of Shane's Castle, the writer was permitted to examine on the 10th September, 1844. Mr. George C. Hyndman, and Mr. Burgess, of Belfast, were also present. The island, which contains rather less than six acres, is included in the parish of Glenavy; and Dr. Reeves supposes that "*the chapel*" mentioned in connection with the church—"the Church of Lennewy, with the chapel," in Pope Nicholas's Taxation, was situated here. The remains of such a building no longer exist; but vestiges of a burying-ground are, it is said, still observable. Of the tower, which forms a striking object, a portion measuring 42 feet in height is still to be seen; the original doorway was eight feet above the offset which determined the level of the floor. This has, however, at some time been closed, and admission is now obtained by an aperture broken through the western side of the building. Two windows remain, one nearly on a line with, and immediately over the true entrance, which faces S.S.W. This is, or rather was, rudely pointed. The other is on the E.S.E. side. The interior diameter is eight feet three inches; and the thickness of the wall two feet six inches, which gives a circumference of nearly forty feet. The lower part of this tower had been filled up to a considerable depth when the pleasure-grounds which surround it were laid out. It was excavated under the direction of the persons named, to a point beyond where a lime floor had originally existed, but which had been broken through at some former period. Of course the examination, under such circumstances, was void of interest. Dr. Petrie quotes a statement from Mr. Windele of Cork, of "human bones having been found interred within that at Ram-island, in Antrim, and similar relics;" but that gentleman's authority is not given. Sir William Betham seems, from a statement afterwards made, to have adopted the same opinion. In the clay, beneath where the floor had been, bones were indeed discovered; but they were remains of a sheep which had been thrown in, most probably at a late period. No information was procured respecting the nature of any previous investigation.

The name of this island is a subject worthy of some notice as an antiquarian question, for it is not probable it was received from the animal of the same name, nor from the surname which is sometimes found in England; and, if the writer mistakes not, it was that of an Irish bishop since the Reformation. It seems, indeed, probable, that this word is corrupted from an ancient Irish term which had for a time been superseded by Enis Garden, another corruption of the same.

The writer is indebted to the kindness of Dr. Reeves, for several references in the *Annals of Ulster*, and of the *Four Masters*, which seem to apply to this place. Enis Garden, it seems not improbable, is a corruption of a name which occurs twice in the *Annals of Ulster*—Inis Dairedrgren—and most decidedly applies to some locality in or near to Lough Neagh.

An. 1056, Gormgal prim anncara innsi Daircairgren plenus dierum in penitentia pausavit. *Gormgal præcipuus anachoreta Insulæ Durcargreniæ, plenus dierum in pœnitentia pausavit.*"

An. 1121 Cumaighi mac Deoradha hua Flaind ri Derlais do badhadh i Loch nEachach inrn gab innsi Darcarcren fair d Uib Eachach da itorchair u er ar xl.

Cumagius filius Deoradii O'Flan rex Derlassiæ (a territory in or near Hy Tuirtie) demersus in lauc Each (Lough Neagh) post expugnatam Insulam Darcarcrenii contra Eachios [Iveagh men] in qua occisi sunt supra xl.

No doubt can exist as to these entries having reference to an island in Lough Neagh, and the *Four Masters* bear testimony to the event mentioned in the latter, but mention the island under another name—*Rechrann.*

The age of Christ, 1121, Cumaighe, son of Deoraidh Ua Floinn, lord of Durlas, was drowned in Loch-Eathach after [the island of] Inis-Draicrenn had been taken upon him by the Ui-Eathach, where forty-four persons were slain.

Dr. O'Donovan, in a note on this passage, says :—" Inis-Draicrenn, now Rathlin, a small island opposite Rockland, where the upper Bann falls into Lough Neagh, in the north-east of the county Armagh." Dr. Reeves has given the writer the following note, in addition to what is found in his published volume, at pages 48 and 292 :—" I was once of opinion that this island [Daircairgren] is the modern Rathlin in the Montiaghs, barony of O'Neilland east, Co. of Armagh ; but the statement of the *Annals of Ulster*, at 1056, leads me to suppose that ecclesiastical remains would be found in this island of Daircairgren, wherever it was ; however, I have not heard that any such exist in the Rathlin of the Montyaghs. The island spoken of is certainly in Lough Neagh, and the question is between Ram's Island and Rathlin. You might look in the *Ordnance Survey of Armagh County*, sheet No. 6, and see whether any ruins of such are marked as existing on this island. If not, I should unhesitatingly pronounce in favour of Ram's Island, which was called Inis-Garden (a corruption, I suspect, of the above name) and is so marked on some old maps." Besides searching the maps, the writer has lately examined the spot itself, and can find no trace of any building having existed on Rathlin Island, in the Montiaghs.

NENDRUM, COUNTY OF DOWN.

The antiquarian world is indebted to the sagacity of Dr. Reeves for determining the true site of the ancient Priory of Nedrum ; and some notices of its Round Tower are introduced in this paper, because it has been confounded with Antrim on account of a similarity in the Irish names. By that gentleman's permission his paper has been used, as far as required in this place, as it appeared originally in the " Papers of the Down, Connor, and Dromore Church Architectural Society."

" Setting conjecture aside, a sure guide to the real site of this ancient house presents itself to the inquirer in the *Taxation of Nicholas IV.** This document, which is a record of the year 1291, enu-

*Since edited in part by Dr. Reeves. See *Eccl. Ant. of Down, Connor, and Dromore.*

merates all the parishes and chapelries in Ireland, arranged under their several dioceses and rural deaneries. Accordingly, among the churches in the diocese of Down, and in the rural deanery of Blaethwye, the "Ecclesia de *Nedrum* is introduced between *Kilwyinchi* [Killinchy,] and *Kilmode* [Kilmood,] a position corresponding to that which the modern parish of *Tullynakill* occupies on the county map. An eastern portion of this parish, insulated by Strangford Lough, is called *Mahee Island;* and on this ground have been discovered the long-forgotten remains of the *Church* of Mahee Island—in Irish, Inis-Mochaoi—lying at about a quarter of a mile from the shore, containing 176A. 3R. 38P., and with Reagh Island, 304A. 3R. 8P., being nearly all under tillage. It is a long narrow strip, contracting as it approaches its western extremity, and then dilating in an oval termination. Regarding its history the country people know nothing, saving that they have an impression of its being an ancient place, with an indistinct tradition that burials took place here centuries ago. On the Ordnance Map there are no marks to draw attention to the spot, except the name Old Town in one place, Castle Ruins in another, and a small dot, like that which indicates a lime-kiln, near the western end. The following particulars, which were observed by Dr. Reeves on a visit to the island, are well worthy of the antiquarian's notice.

The western portion of the island rises from the water by a gentle slope to the elevation of sixty-six feet, and is surmounted by a small ivy-mantled ruin. On approaching this object, the way leads through a gap, in what appears to be the remains of a large circular enclosure. Ascending from this, a second nearly concentric ring, apparently the foundation of a wall or terrace, is crossed; and within this, at an interval of about fifty yards, a third ring, which encloses a nearly level space about seventy yards in diameter. At a distance of twenty-five feet from the inner circumference, on the west, stands the little ruin which possesses the main characteristics of the remains of a Round Tower. The diameter inside is six feet six inches. The external circumference at the basement course, which projects a few inches, is forty-four feet six inches, or nearly fifteen feet diameter. The materials of which it is constructed are undressed stones, yet so well disposed as to present an even surface inside, and so firmly compacted by grouting that, though the outer table of the wall has been picked away, the inner has maintained its surface unimpaired. The highest remaining part is about nine feet, and is covered with ivy. There is a fissure on the S.W. wide enough to admit a man; it extends to the ground, and was probably caused by the entrance having been there in the original plan. The view from the top of this building must have been very extensive, as a moderate addition to the natural elevation of the ground would afford a prospect of the whole length of Strangford Lough.

The usual accompaniment of a Round Tower was next sought for; and at the distance of forty-three feet to the S.E. an oblong space was observed, defined by something like a ridge in the grass, in which small portions of wall and mortar here and there projected through the sod. This space, which, from its proportions and its bearing to the east, resembled the enclosure of a place of Chris-

tian worship, was next examined, and, by the aid of some labouring men, the angles of a quadrilateral building and parts of the sides were exposed, to the depth of about two feet. Its proportions are as follow :—

Total length,	...	...	...	...	...	58 feet 4 inches,
Total breadth,	...	...	...	...	...	22 feet 4 inches,
Length in clear,	...	...	...	...	...	52 feet 4 inches,
Breadth in clear,	...	...	...	...	...	15 feet 8 inches,

thus allowing a thickness of three feet for the end walls, and three feet four inches for the sides. At the west end were two projections, at the angles, of dressed stone, apparently the rudiments of shallow buttresses, measuring two feet six inches in breadth, by nine inches in depth.

The building stood E.N.E. : such a deflection from the exact east is not uncommon in ancient churches, and is supposed by some to have been regulated so as to correspond with the point of the sun's rising on the morn of the day which was commemorative of the patron saint. There were no marks of graves, by unevenness in the ground or by head-stones, to betoken a burial-place, near the ruins ; but upon turning up the ground, perfect skeletons were exposed to view in several places, both within and outside the foundations, having their feet turned eastward. The floor of the tower was found to be on the same plane as the ground outside. In the hope of discovering some human remains within it, an excavation was made as deep as the lowest part of the foundation ; but no animal remains were found except some fragments of large bones, not human, and some large and curious molar teeth. An inhabitant of a neighbouring island stated that, some years ago, a man visited the spot in consequence of his dreaming that money was buried near the ruin ; and that in the process of digging near the N.W. base of the tower he came upon a human skeleton of very large dimensions, which was seen by several persons afterwards.

At the northern extremity of the island are the roofless walls of an ancient square castle, similar in structure to those which abound along the shores of Strangford Lough :—in length, 41 feet 6 in. : in breadth, 21 feet 6 in. ; in height, 30 feet 6 inches ; and varying in thickness from 4 feet 10 inches to 3 feet 3 inches.

From this building a causeway leads to Island Reagh, which is covered only at high water, and was probably coeval in its construction with the castle.

With Nendrum is to be associated the name of Saint Mochoe, one of Saint Patrick's early converts : and its honour is to have been set apart for the worship of the True God in the very dawn of Christianity in Ireland.

Nendrum signifies "the single hill," and is thus derived :—*aon* is an obsolete form for the numeral one ; the particle *n*, or before a vowel *n*, prefixed to the compound, gives the name as found in native authorities ; and this in an English form is written Nendrum, and contracted to Nendrum.

The following notices of this place appear in the *Annals* :—

Tighernach, A.C. 497. Mochae of Oendruim died.

Annals of Ulster, A.D. 493. Mochoei nOendroma quievit, [which is the same event stated, but in a different year, caused by the mode of computing time.]

Another edition gives the year 498.

Annals of Innisfallen, An. 490. Rest of Mochae of Noendroma.

Four Masters, age of Christ, 495. St. Mochaoi, abbot of Aondruim, died on the 23rd of the month of June.

These passages, until the error was pointed out by Dr. Reeves, were understood as applying to Antrim. In the notices of the Tower there this has been further alluded to.

With this island-church is also to be associated the name of Saint Caylan, the first bishop of Down. Colman, the first bishop of Dromore, was his pupil; and of Finnian of Moville we are informed, that when a lad he was sent to the venerable old man, Coelan, abbot of Noendruim, for instruction.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE SEPT OF THE O'CATHAINS

OF CIANNACHTA GLINNÉ-GEIMHIN.

Now the O'Kanes of the County of Londonderry.

(Concluded from Vol. 3, p. 272.)

Roderic MacManus O'Cathain was the last of his race who exercised the rights of sovereignty over the lands which had been ruled by his sept since the close of the eleventh century; and, while it is a fact that he had a principal hand in causing the events which led to the destruction of his own power, it is remarkable that his share in these events was signalised not by his infidelity but by his allegiance to the force which destroyed him. Those were dismal times. We cannot read their history to advantage if we shut our eyes against the errors and crimes which disgraced almost all the agents and parties who were concerned in the transactions of the period.

Roderic, called in the Irish language *Reare*, and in common parlance *Rory*, had adhered faithfully to the O'Neill, whose *curiught* or vassal he was. He had followed the standard of Hugh, the last Earl of Tyrone of the family of O'Neill, when he broke out into insurrection against the power of Queen Elizabeth; but it is probable that in doing so, he was in some degree acting by constraint. In a letter to Sir Arthur Chichester, now in the State Paper Office, and written 21st June, 1602, he declares it was out of his power to do otherwise than join against the queen, as his territories lay between those of O'Neill and O'Donnell on the one hand, and the State on the other; against none of whom he was strong enough to defend himself. And, that there is some truth in the assertion is

apparent from the circumstance of his having made his submission to the Lord Deputy the year previous, which was two years before O'Neill had surrendered, and while the power of the rebel chieftains was yet unbroken. On this occasion, it is beyond a doubt, that O'Cathain received an assurance of pardon and protection so long as he continued in his allegiance; and the assurance was repeated in the terms or treaty made with the Earl of Tyrone, on his laying down his arms and submitting to live agreeably to English law. It was then stipulated that he, and all the chieftains who had been in alliance with him during the continuance of the hostilities, should be unmolested in their persons, liberties, and properties; that their territories should be reduced to counties, and subjected to the control of magistrates, judges, and sheriffs; and that they should hold the lands, which were formerly their principalities, directly from the crown, as hereditary estates, in the same manner as the gentry and nobility of English descent. Had this state of affairs been permitted to continue, it is probable that many of the descendants of the northern chieftains, who are now in abject poverty at home or in foreign lands, would have been at this moment possessed of domains ample enough to constitute them some of the richest subjects in Europe; and that long wars and bloodshed, and centuries of discontent and heart-break, would have been averted. But it pleased the fates to rule it otherwise; and, whatever may have been the means employed, it cannot be doubted that they have resulted in conferring upon the meanest peasant in the province of Ulster a degree of happiness and security which was beyond the reach of the proudest princes of the land while the Celtic laws and institutions prevailed.

There is reason to believe that the Earl of Tyrone was discontented with the change which peace, law, and subjection to civil government, produced in his condition. He was no longer an Irish sovereign, wielding an undisputed and unlimited authority over his Uriaghts, vassals, and dependents; able to exact from them, almost at his pleasure, the means of maintaining rude pomp and hospitality. The possession of absolute power is always a tempting bait to ambitious spirits, and it would be wonderful, indeed, if Tyrone, who had once possessed the dazzling treasure, but now saw it torn from his grasp, and who was, besides, one of the most ambitious of mortals, did not secretly repine at the bargain which he probably thought he had struck too hastily. Had he but waited till the accession of King James, before he gave himself up to Mountjoy! Had he entered into a treaty with a new sovereign, who was by nature inclined to peace, willing to make large sacrifices for its attainment and not reluctant, perhaps, to mark the commencement of his reign by the inauguration of a new course of policy—who could tell what might have been the result! Such thoughts appear to have occurred to the mind of Tyrone: it is probable that he communicated them to some of his brother chieftains: whether they ever took the distinct form of a conspiracy to levy war against the crown, it is impossible to determine. If there was such a conspiracy, it would seem manifest that O'Cathain could not be involved in it; for, at the time when the plot was supposed to be going forward most actively, he appeared as a witness on the side of the Bishop of Derry, (not the primate, as has been stated,)

in a suit against Tyrone, for the recovery of certain church-lands which the latter had usurped, and still detained illegally. A confederate would not have brought the chief of the conspiracy into difficulty at the moment when all his energies were most urgently required in pushing on the common object. Thus, it appears that, even if the reality of O'Neill's conspiracy were proved, it is most probable that O'Cathain was guiltless. But it was never proved. An anonymous letter was dropped at the door of the Council-Chamber, in Dublin, asserting that a conspiracy had been formed for seizing the castle—but it named no one as engaged in it: in fact, the writer declared that he would never become evidence against any one. In this state of things, O'Neill, who had rudely attempted to snatch a paper out of the hands of O'Cathain, at the hearing of the suit just referred to, was summoned before the Privy Council, to answer for his contempt. Whatever may have been his motive, whether he was really conscious of designs and acts which rendered his farther stay unsafe, or imagined that he was marked out for destruction, and doomed to a fate against which innocence itself would be no protection, Tyrone resolved on flight, and induced the chief of Tyrconnell, the successor of the heroic Hugh O'Donnell, to share it with him. They withdrew from Dublin by night, travelled by forced marches to the shores of Lough Swilly, and thence took ship for Spain.

It might appear from all this that O'Cathain had little to dread. He had, in early life, protected the troops of Queen Elizabeth, and their captain, when beset by the forces of O'Donnell. He had revolted from the O'Neill when in the height of his rebellion, and made his peace with the English power. He had been included in the stipulation by which all the allies and confederates of Tyrone received a free pardon. He had appeared against Tyrone himself in a suit at law, and had received provocation from him such as no Irish chieftain could easily brook. To revive against such a man an obsolete Act of Parliament, never acted upon—in fact forgotten for forty years—to confiscate his property and estates, on account of offences against English law committed before he was born, and at a time when English law was unknown in the territory which he possessed—overlooking two solemn engagements, to which the faith of the crown was pledged, by both of which it was stipulated that all past offences should be pardoned—was a measure which, under pretext and colour of law, perpetrated the grossest injustice. This, however, was the fate of the hapless O'Cathain. In the year 1709, the Act of 1567 was called forth from its sleeping chamber, which had well nigh become its grave. And by this nefarious procedure, O'Cathain, and all dependent on him, were at once dispossessed of every inch of land they held!

Soon after the affair in the Privy Council, which happened in the year 1707, we find O'Cathain himself committed to prison. "But the king and council wrote leniently to the Deputy, to bring him to conformity by shaking the rod over him." This letter is dated January, 1608. Yet, in another, dated November following, they say:—"But for O'Cathain, whom we find you have imprisoned, we like the course you have taken with him, and allow also very well of your placing his son in the college."—I take this paragraph from Sampson's *Statistical Survey of the County of Londonderry*, vol. iv.

(pp. 463-4): the passages given as citations are so marked by the learned author whom I quote; but he does not refer to the source from which they are derived, and my reading does not enable me to supply the omission.

In the next year a formal Inquisition was taken at Limmavady, by which the whole lands of the present county of Londonderry, with the exception of the church-lands, were declared to be vested in the crown, by virtue of the Act of Attainder, passed against Shane O'Neill and his confederates in the year 1567. The disposal of these lands now became a question of great and serious interest both in England and Ireland. It was at length determined that they should be offered for sale to the citizens of London in their corporate capacity, with the exception of a few which had previously been granted to private adventurers. A State Paper was drawn up and issued by King James, with the advice of his privy council, entitled—"*Motives and Reasons to induce the City of London to undertake the Plantation of the North of Ireland*," which gives, no doubt a favourable, but, on the whole, apparently a correct account, of the state and condition of the country of Ciannachta, when it passed from under the dominion of the O'Cathains. After describing its extent and situation, the document details the natural advantages of the region; the abundance of rivers, brooks, and springs; the fertility of the soil; its special fitness for the rearing and sustenance of cattle; its richness in animals whose skins and fur are valuable, as "red deer, foxes, sheep, lambs, rabbits, squirrels, martins, &c;" its peculiar adaptation for the growth of hemp and flax, affording abundant materials for canvass and cordage, as also for linen yarn "which is more fine and plentiful there than in all the rest of the kingdom;"—"the goodliest and largest timber in the woods of Glenconkene and Killetrough that may be, and may compare with any in his Majesty's dominions;" the great plenty of honey and wax; the harbours; the sea and river fisheries; the abundance of sea-fowl; and the pearls found both on the coast and in the river Foyle. It is easy to see from the description that the country was in a very backward condition. It is described nearly as we should now describe a location in New Zealand, or the remote counties of Upper Canada. With the exception of linen-spinning, for which the district continued to be famous till our own day, the advantages dwelt on are chiefly those which bountiful nature had bestowed,—soil, climate, forest-timber, fish, and even wild animals. Stone and lime for building are mentioned as found in the region; but no buildings. The fertility of the soil is described; but grain, though alluded to, is not said to have been actually produced in any quantity. The whole territory appears not to have contained a mill. It certainly did not contain either a town or village; as farther appears from the patent which afterwards passed the great seal. The population must have been very scanty, and probably very wretched. In the time of Q. Elizabeth it was estimated that O'Cathain could bring into the field 140 horse and 400 foot; and this was perhaps one-third of the adult males in his dominions:—for the people were warlike, and the chief's authority unlimited. A single parish at the present day contains more inhabitants than the whole district did then: and

these, on the average, better fed, clothed, housed, and educated, than the chieftain himself in the days of his independence. This is no very favourable picture of the results of Celtic ascendancy; but the truth must be told: and, while I commiserate the fate of the dispossessed chieftains of the Irish race, I cannot be blind to the evils of the native Irish laws.

The citizens of London determined to accept the King's offer; the purchase-money was raised by the Guilds or companies of incorporated trades, into which the freemen and livery are divided; the lands were distributed among them according to a plan previously agreed upon; the native proprietors were dispossessed of their inheritance; and new settlers, of a different race, language, and religion, took the place of those who had for six centuries occupied the territory of Cianuachta.

In the conditions of settlement with the City of London, it had been stipulated by King James, that certain portions of land, to be called *Native Freeholds*, should be assigned to the original proprietors, which they were to hold at small rents, and which were to descend to their heirs; in compensation, it would appear, for the harshness with which they had been treated in the preceding transactions. One of these freeholds, amounting to 500 acres, (equivalent to 830 statute acres,) was assigned, subject to a rent of £5 6s. 8d. per annum, to Rory Oge O'Cathain, that is Roderick O'Cathain the younger, which was one of the appellations of the chieftain already mentioned. But he was not long permitted to enjoy this wreck of a noble principality. Among the *Instructions* given to Alderman Probie and Mr. Springham, who were deputed by the Common Council of the city of London to visit the City's plantations in Ireland, I find the following, under date of May 4th, 1616:—

"26. Whereas there are certain p̄sons freeholders within our undertakings, as Rorey Oge O'Chane, McConnell, &c., lately attainted by reason of notorious offences, upon whom an Act of Parliament is passed for their courreon, [*correction?*] we pray you to instate the cittie to those lands which are immediately belonging to them: and to order the same with the best policy you can, to prevent wrong hereafter."—(*Appendix to the Appellant's Case, Skinners' Company v. Irish Society,—House of Lords: p.* 72.)

On this point Messrs. Probie and Springham presented the following Report to the Common Council, on the 1st of October, 1616:—

"We find the 500 acres which were intended and assigned to Rory O'Cathain in the cittie's possession. And understanding that Mr. Cary, Recorder of Derrie, hath taken pains in his place, and had no salary from the cittie, we have granted the same 500 acres to him for his life, paieing the usual rent of VI. vis. viii*d.* pr. ann. unto the cittie: and we doubt not but that he will take care for the preserving the same for the cittie's use: and we conceived this to be the best waie to give him satisfaction without charge unto the cittie; and for the land which was given McConnell, the cittie's agent hath taken possession thereof, and holdeth the same to the cittie's use."—(*Ap. &c. p.* 75.)

Extraordinary, indeed, was the history of this illustrious chieftain. An Act of Parliament had confiscated his estates for a treason committed before he came into possession of them, probably before he was born; but the royal word was twice solemnly pledged that this Act should not be put in force. A treason was alleged to have been committed, with which he had no concern except as a mar-plot, who hastened its discovery, and caused its authors to flee the realm in apprehension for their own safety: and, on the occasion of this treason, of which he was innocent, the ancient Act of Parliament was re-

vived, by which O'Cathain was divested of all his spacious domains. The government, sensible of the harshness and injustice with which he had been treated, restored to him a mere fraction of his own territories, to be held as leasehold under those who had bought the fee-simple from the crown:—and forthwith, or rather *before* he had even been put in possession,—(such at least is my inference from the Report of Messrs. Probie and Springham,)—he is dispossessed by another Act of Parliament, lately passed for his "correction," and his freehold given over to "the Recorder of Derrie" for life! Perhaps the most extraordinary part in the whole series is that this last mentioned Act is a pure myth. There never was such an Act of Parliament as is alleged in the foregoing Instructions. Let the reader look into the *Irish Statutes at large*, under the reign of K. James I. and he will find no such law. He will find indeed an Act of Attainder against Hugh, the late Earl of Tyrone, Rory, late Earl of Tyronnell, Sir Cahir O'Doherty and others therein named;—but he will find that Rory O'Cathain is not named, nor any of his sept: and he will find that the pains and penalties of the Act are expressly limited to the persons that are named. Sad fate of the hapless chieftain; to be first dispossessed by means of an Act of Parliament which was considered to be obsolete for forty years, and again reduced to absolute destitution by another which never had any real existence. There is proof enough that the Deputies from London were right in their conjecture that the learned Recorder would "take care for the preserving of" O'Cathain's freehold, "to the cittie's use," and his own, and he doubtless had full "satisfaction" in the enjoyment of it: the undertakers too, who were thus spared the expense of a salary for his services.

Mr. Sampson, in the place which I have quoted from his *Survey*, says that he had not been able to discover what had become of O'Cathain's son, who had been sent "to college."—Thinking it probable that the college referred to was Trinity College, Dublin, and hoping that its records might assist in the solution of this problem, I wrote to a gentleman, a member of that learned body, requesting information; and received the following answer, which gives all that can now be procured from that source:—

Trinity College, Dublin, 12th Nov., 1851.

"My dear Sir,—I delayed answering your note of Saturday in order to make the necessary inquiries, and I am sorry to say the result is very unsatisfactory. A regular entry of the names of those entering this College commences in the year 1637, the first name being Lord Strafford's son, and is therefore long posterior to the time you mention; and all the records prior to this date are in a very irregular and incomplete condition.

"Dr. Barrett, when poking among them, made a digest which was left in manuscript, and afterwards copied out for the board, and in it I find among the list of scholars admitted by Provost Alvey, and in his handwriting (who was Provost from 1601 to 1609,) the name of Conogh Dowin, who, from the position in the list, must have been admitted about 1606 or 7. And in another place the following extract:—'23 May, 1608:—It was agreed by the whole companie that Cohonogh Dowin, for divers previous misdemeanours, partly by examination, partly by his own confession convicted, is censured to lose his scholarship, and to have a peremptory admonition that the next time he be found guilty of his former misdemeanours, and either to trouble the state by petitions, to deale for priests, or disregard the governors of the house, be banished the same.'

"Several pages afterwards, Barrett extracts from Sampson's *Survey of Londonderry*, p. 464:—'O'Cahan being him-

self seized, forfeited his estates; but the King and Council wrote leniently to the deputy to bring him to conformity by shaking the rod over him. This letter is dated Jan. 1607; but in another, dated Nov. following, they say,' &c. (giving the extract you sent,) 'What became of this son does not appear;' and then adds—'It is needless for me to say that I suppose this son and Cohonogh Dowin to be the same. O'Cahan has been implicated in the rebellion of Tyrone and his accomplices.' This is all I can find, no reason being given by Dr. Barrett for the opinion. I consulted Dr. Todd, who is most conversant with our old records, and he told me that he knew nothing further, and that there were no documents, as far as his knowledge went, that there would be the slightest use in examining.—If in any way I can be of further use I will be delighted to be so. In the meantime, I am yours," &c.

Thus our information respecting the heir of this illustrious house, is both vague and scanty. A comparison of the dates shows that Dr. Barrett's conjecture respecting the identity of the young O'Cathain and Cohonogh Dowin was mistaken. A student admitted to college in 1606 or 1607, and censured by a vote of the Board in May, 1608, could not be the same with one whose being placed in the college was the subject of deliberation in the month of November following.

Of the widow of the last unfortunate chieftain of the sept, Mr. Sampson gives the following "curious and well authenticated anecdote."

"The Duchess of Buckingham, being then after her first widowhood married to the Earl of Antrim, had raised 1000 men among her lord's yeomanry in the county of Antrim, in aid of King Charles I. The deputy, Lord Wentworth, had directed her Grace to have these recruits marched by the route of Limavady. In passing through this village, curiosity induced her Grace to visit the wife of O'Cathain, whose castle had been demolished, and himself banished. In the midst of this half ruined edifice was kindled a fire of branches: the window casements were stuffed with straw to keep off the rigours of the season. Thus lodged the aged wife of O'Cathain. She was found by her noble visitant, sitting on her bent hams in the smoke, and wrapped in a blanket!"—*Survey of the Co. Londonderry*, p. 463.

The musical world has already been apprised through the well written and highly interesting *Historical Account of the Ancient Music of Ireland*, prefixed to Mr. Bunting's latest collection of our National Melodies,* that Rory Dall O'Cathain, a celebrated minstrel, and author of some of the most beautiful strains that ever sounded on the harp of Ireland, was a member of the ancient sept of the O'Cathains of Ciannachta; and that he is the same person who is so famous in Scotland, under the name Rory Dall Morrison:—whom "Sir Walter Scott, with his usual skill in employing facts for the illustration of his tales," introduces as the musical instructor of Annot Lyle, in the *Legend of Montrose*. It appears that, after the overthrow of his family, this gentleman withdrew to Scotland, and travelled from house to house among the nobility and chieftains of that country, where he was received partly as a guest, partly as a minstrel; requiting their hospitality by the exercise of an art which he had acquired as an accomplishment in better days. Mr. Bunting says: "He is remembered to this day throughout the North of Ireland, as one of the chief O'Cathains of the O'Cathain Country; and the names of the estates to which he is supposed to have been entitled, were still enumerated in tradition at the time of the meeting of the harpers in Belfast," which was in the year 1792. A tradition was current among the tuneful brethren then assembled, that

* *Ancient Music of Ireland, arranged for the Piano-Forte*. By Edward Bunting:—large 8o. Dublin, 1840.

the King, being in Scotland, and hearing of his fame, was induced to invite this illustrious musician to his court. Delighted with his performance, "the King walked towards him and laid his hand familiarly on his shoulder. One of the courtiers present remarking on the honour thus conferred upon him, the minstrel observed, 'A greater than King Charles has had his hand on my shoulder.' 'Who was that?' cried the king. 'The O'Neill, sire!' replied Rory Dall, standing up."* Mr. Bunting adduces several very probable arguments in support of his opinion that an ancient harp, preserved in the family of Robertson, of Lude, and described in Mr. Gunn's *Historical Enquiry respecting Scottish Music* as having belonged to Queen Mary of Scotland, is no other than the harp of Rory Dall O'Cathain, the blind minstrel, who was stripped of his inheritance and driven forth as a wanderer, by her son and grandson.—(*Ancient Music of Ireland*, pp. 43, 44.) Among his compositions which have survived (for many are lost irrecoverably) the most famous are *Port Atholl*, (otherwise called *The Hawk of Ballyshannon*, and sometimes *Miss Moore)—Lude's Supper—Da mihi Manum*, or *Give me your Hand*—and the *Lame Yellow Beggar*. The first is one of the most beautiful of Irish airs; it would add a bright leaf to the laurel of any composer, living or dead. The last is less striking in musical expression, but derives a melancholy interest from its own and its author's history. "It is said to have been composed by him in allusion to his own fallen fortunes, at the close of his career."—(*Bunting*, p. 91.)

It appears from the *Ulster Inquisitions* that two persons of the name of O'Cathain died, one in the year 1637, the other in 1645, possessed of landed property to a small amount in the county of Londonderry. The name is, as may be imagined, extremely common in the region where its former owners once reigned as princes. It has, however, undergone several transmutations. *Ua Cathain* or *O'Cathain*, is the genuine Irish orthography, as appears from the original text of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, published by Dr. O'Donovan, where it occurs very frequently. But the *th* being sounded like the English *h*, it began to be written in English books and documents *O'Cahan;* and, when, in process of time, the slender sound of the vowel *a* began to be substituted for the broad one, the name was pronounced and written O'Kane; the dropping of the prefix gave rise to the form *Kane*, which was in general use some years since; though at present there is a tendency to resume the O,' at least in writing. The O'Cathains, or O'Kanes, though many of them in humble ranks of life, retain the memory of the former greatness of their lineage, and are sometimes sportively addressed as "My lord!"—all that now remains of the titles and dignities of THE O'CATHAINS OF CIANNACHTA.

The surnames of the Irish families being almost without exception patronymics, were sometimes multiplied by the subdivision of septs into distinct clans, taking their designation from the immediate instead of the remote ancestor. Hence, a very ancient branch of the O'Cathains took the sur-

* *Bunting's Ancient Music*, &c., p. 68. I have taken the liberty of substituting the name of King Charles for that of King James, in this anecdote. The fact, if it occurred at all, must have happened after the Plantation of Ulster, and after that period James never was in Scotland.

name of O'Conor, being descended from Conor, *(Conchobhar)* who was himself sprung from Loingsech, grandson to Cathain the founder of the race.—*(Dr. Reeves's Colton's Visitation*, p. 37, n.) It has already been mentioned that the Mac Closkeys, so numerous in the district of Ciannachta, are the representatives of Blosgaidh, (or *Blosky)* who flourished towards the close of the twelfth century. —*(Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. iii., p. 6.)—It is very probable that *some*, at least, of the other names which prevail in the territory, represent offshots from the same ancient stock; but the means of tracing their pedigree are wanting. It is proper to add, that the O'Cathains of Ciannachta Glinné-Geimhin, are to be distinguished from the O'Keans, (or O'Ceins) a sept of which one branch resided in the adjoining territory of Ua-mic-Cairthain, or Tirkeerin, the other settled in the south of Ireland; and that Ciannachta Glinné Geimhin itself must not be confounded with another Ciannachta which was situated in Meath.

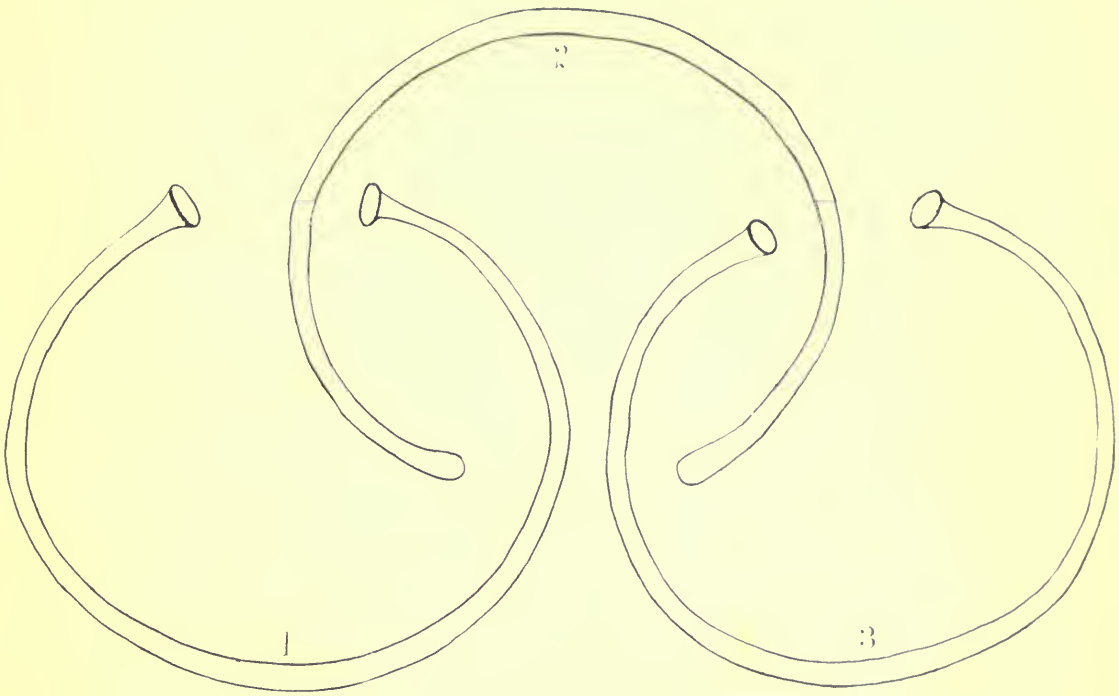
A learned writer who has done me the honour to notice, far too favourably, the preceding portion of this essay, remarks that the Buchanans, (of whom the McCauslands are a branch, or perhaps the stem) are descended from the O'Cathains of Ciannachta. The authority for this statement I presume to be the *History of the Ancient Surname of Buchanan*, &c., by William Buchanan, which was printed in Glasgow, in 1793. But the historical value of the earlier portion of that little work is not great; and, whatever be its weight, it does not seem to me to support the opinion which has been alluded to. Mr. Buchanan says that the ancestor of his family was Anselan Okyan, son to Okyan, provincial king of the *south* part of Ulster, who, being driven out of Ireland by the Danes, took refuge in Scotland about the year 1016: and he again intimates that "the Okyans were provincial kings of the south part, as the Oneils were of the north part; but that, after the English conquest, both were obliged to drop the title of kingship, and with it many of their lands, and to content themselves with the title of noblemen." "The Oneils formerly kings of the north part of Ulster, were, after that conquest, entitled earls of Tyrone; as were the Okyans, provincial kings of the south part of Ulster, entitled lords of Dunseverin."—(pp. 15, 16.) This last peerage is of Mr. Buchanan's own creation; no patent for it ever passed the great seal of Ireland; and not one of his other statements is a jot more applicable to the O'Cathains of Ciannachta. Their name is different from that which he assigns to his progenitor; the region which they ruled does not lie in the southern part of Ulster; and they had no territories whatever under their sway till the close of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth. If it were worth while to frame an hypothesis to reconcile in some degree with history what is itself a mere hypothesis, and quite irreconcileable with known facts, I would conjecture, that Anselan Okyan, (if there ever was such a man) was perhaps a member of the race of *Cian*, from whom the region of Ciannachta derives its name: and that his proper designation was not *O'Cathain*—a designation which Mr. Buchanan, in fact, nowhere gives to him—but *O'Cian*, that is, O'Kian; to which Okyan is an approximation. But the whole story appears to me to rest on no tangible foundation.

An impression has been sent to me, taken from a seal which was found some time ago in the neighbourhood of Ciannachta, and which is supposed to have belonged to some of the chiefs of the district, but it is evidently modern; the name OCAHAN, on the exergue, is in the common English printed character; the arms on the shield are such as would puzzle a herald to describe in proper terms of blazonry, and totally different from those found on the shield of Cumoighe na Gall, in the ancient church of Dungiven. It seems to be an attempt made by a beginner in the art of seal-engraving, or perhaps a *jeu d'esprit* to perplex heraldic antiquaries. It has a coronet and supporters: the former resembling that of a viscount; but, with three additional pearls, elevated above the rest. The supporters are lions rampant.

I am very sensible of the imperfections of the foregoing sketch, and earnestly request the assistance of those who may have the requisite information in clearing up the points which, for want of it, I have been obliged to leave uncertain, or (as doubtless has often happened) incorrectly stated. Such contributions to the pages of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, will find in me a gratified and interested reader.

J. Scott Porter.

Belfast, 1856.



ANTIQUE ORNAMENTS OF GOLD FOUND IN THE COUNTY CLARE:—

THEIR PROBABLE USE.

The outline engraving which accompanies this paper represents, in the full size of the originals, three most ancient ornaments of gold, at present in the possession of Mr. Francis M. Moore, chronometer maker, &c., 114, High-Street, Belfast. He had originally four of these *penannuli*, (as we take the liberty of calling them for want of a better name), which he bought in Limerick in the month of May, 1855: one he has since sold; the remaining three are those figured in our engraving. They were found, along with a considerable number of others ("thirty or forty," as it was said) of the same general form and description, "in an earthen pot," by a peasant, while working "on the O'Brien estate, in the county of Clare," in the early part of last year. The "pot" in which they were contained was broken,—according to the formalities on such occasions,—not being esteemed as of any value; the contents were sold to a neighbouring farmer for a sum which, though probably far

below their intrinsic worth, enabled the finder to emigrate to America; and the whole have since been disposed of, by the farmer aforesaid, to dealers and amateurs. Owing to the secrecy which has been observed, the exact number, weight, and value of the articles thus found, and the exact circumstances of their discovery, will, probably, never be ascertained. Those now in the possession of Mr. Moore weigh as follows:—

No. 1.—14 dwts., 13 grains.
2.—1 oz., 4 dwts., 10 grains.
3.—14 dwts., 17 grains.

The extremities of the hoop in No. 1 and No. 3 are flattened, yet not so as to form a thin disk or hollow cup. Those of No. 2 are round; but, as the gold is slightly swelled out at that part, it is possible that it may, at first, have been shaped like the rest, and rubbed down to its present form, to please the taste of some ancient proprietor; or, perhaps, it is yet in its first rude shape as when it came out of the mould, before its ends had been flattened (as appears to have been the case with its companions) by the stroke of a hammer. In none of the three is the curve of the circlet quite regular; in fact, they all appear to have been bent at various times to a greater or less degree of curvature. Many articles of the same kind have been discovered in Ireland and in Scotland; and, doubtless, hundreds have found their way into the crucible, that final resting-place of so many precious antiques.

What were they made for? Everybody is ready to ask this question; and, if a multitude of answers will satisfy curiosity, no inquirer need go away disappointed. Some learned men think they were intended for *bracelets;* others say they were *bangles* or *anklets;* not a few conceive they were *cloak-fasteners:* Sir William Betham was quite clear that they were *ring-money*, (though they do not ring at all), and a circulating medium, notwithstanding the gap in the circle; and General Vallancey, followed by a few, regards them as *nose-rings*.

Most of these guesses are very bad. The *penannuli* are very unfit for cloak-fasteners; if stuck into a *toga* they would be extremely apt to turn round, work themselves out of the button or eyelet-holes, drop off, and so be lost. The flattened ends of the gold would be far worse than useless in an anklet or bracelet; they would press against the flesh, rub off the skin, and hurt or perhaps maim the wearer. If made for the purposes which are now answered by gold and silver coin, they were very badly contrived. For such a use, a small thick ring, without a break in its circumference, might be convenient enough; but where would be the use of making a coin (as we may call it) of not very thick wire, shaped like a circle of three inches or thereabouts in diameter, but with a bit cut out of it, so that it could not be carried on a thong or cord without being lost? Where, again, if it were a piece of money, would be the advantage of the flat ends of the golden circlet? I do not deny, however, that these articles, whatever may have been the use for which they were *designed*, may have been at times *used* as the medium of exchange. In rude times, cattle served the purposes of

current coin; in Kaffir-land, they are current to this day; often, indeed, they are current in a way which the European dealers do not like, for they are apt to run off when they hear the whistle of their former sable proprietor! We know that slaves were used as money at the Trojan war—at least so Homer tells us. Two of the *penannuli* above figured are nearly of the same weight, differing only by four grains in 353, which may be thought to favour Sir William Betham's theory; but then, the weight of No. 2, the remaining one, is incommensurable with them; unless we assume a unit of weight so small as five grains; which is too small to be thought of among a barbarous people, provided with imperfect instruments for weighing.

It cannot be doubted, however, that they were made for some definite use; and *that* a use which was applicable to a large number of cases; for a great many of these implements exist, and many more have disappeared. It must also have been a long time ago when they were made and employed; for their formation is very inartistic, showing a rude state of society; and their utter want of likeness to any articles that have, for centuries upon centuries, been manufactured in these countries, proves that they belong to a very remote period. I believe that they belong to *the very remotest period in the history of Ireland*, since it first became the dwelling-place of human beings.

If their purpose be still discoverable, it must be found by considering the substance of which they are made, and the particulars of size, weight, form, and workmanship, in which they all agree.

Now, with a single exception, all the *penannuli*, hitherto discovered, *are of gold:* and the one which forms the exception is of an inferior metal, covered with gold in such a manner that, but for a break in the wire, it could not be distinguished from gold, except by some Hyperborean Archimedes. This fact leads us to discard all notion of their having been cloak-fasteners, anklets, bracelets, &c.; in short, all notion of their having been made for uses for which, though gold might be preferred, other materials would have been serviceable; for, in that case, the inferior substance would, doubtless, from its greater abundance and cheapness, have been often used. The "ring-money" hypothesis is inadmissible, as has been already shown, owing to their size, lightness, and the gap in their circumference. They are all nearly of the same internal diameter: this seems to indicate that they bore a certain relation to the human body, or some of its members. The surface of all that I have seen or heard of is smooth: they must have been used for a purpose for which roughness would have been inconsistent. In general they are light; one is said to have been discovered which weighed so much as six ounces; and a few others weighed from three to five ounces each: but they are seldom found heavier than two ounces, or of less weight than half an ounce. Lastly, the extremities of the wire or thin bar of gold, of which they consist, are in most cases—in all cases indeed, in which the article can be regarded as complete—flattened so as to present a smooth surface, the plane of which is nearly at right angles to the wire. I may add, that their being made universally of the most precious of the metals, indicates that their use involved something of display: for gold is not hidden when it is worn upon the person.

All this brings us back to the long forgotten hypothesis of General Vallancey—good, worthy, and brave old antiquarian! Peace be to his ashes. He had an Irish heart, though he chanced to be born on the wrong side of St. George's channel; and an Irish head, too, if the making of a blunder now and then be deemed a true characteristic of our country; but antiquarians in England can make blunders too,—only their blunders are not called blunders; they are "erroneous conclusions." General Vallancey, as has been stated, deemed these *penannuli* with flattened ends to have been *nose-rings*—(see his *Collectanea*, &c., vol. vi., p. 270); and I do not see what else we can suppose them to have been made for, "consistently with the phenomena," as the learned say. I imagine them to have been applied to the prominent organ of the countenance, in such a manner that the flattened ends lay on each side of the cartilage which divides the nostrils; this a moderate squeeze would cause them to grasp as tightly as might be needful; the ring would then hang gracefully around and somewhat beneath the chin, surrounding the mouth, yet leaving it free for breathing and speaking, eating and drinking,—(and for kissing too, if required.) Its smoothness would prevent it from fretting the skin of the face, and from gathering impurities, which would be highly inconvenient and unbecoming in an ornament so placed. Being of gold it would not be liable to tarnish like bronze, or even silver, which for that reason would be objectionable: it would also be well fitted for being worn as the most conspicuous ornament of the person. It may add force to this conclusion that all the rings in the possession of Mr. Moore appear to have been bent at various times; and, as this has not been done since they were last discovered, the probability is that they served a purpose which required some alteration to be made in their shape every time they were used. I know of no other hypothesis that will solve all the conditions of the question so well as that of General Vallancey, that these flattened *penannuli* were used as rings for the nose.

By whom were they so used? It may not be possible to pronounce with certainty; but, on the whole, I am disposed to assign them over exclusively to the fair sex. The moustache and beard would render them awkward appendages to a man's face; the bristly mass would interfere with the graceful oscillatory movement of these *penannuli*, on which much of their effect as personal ornaments would depend. If, indeed, it could be shown that the first occupants of our soil used that now almost obsolete instrument, *the razor*, we might believe the golden nose-ring to have been used indifferently by both sexes. This is possible; but the balance of probability seems to me to incline to the view that this decoration was used only by the ladies of the olden time.

According to the ideas which now prevail in these countries, a large ring in the nose would scarcely be regarded as enhancing the charms of female loveliness; but in former times, the fair sex had quite different notions; and, in truth, the nose-jewel was looked upon as an almost indispensable decoration by the beauties of some lands that we cannot view as altogether uncivilised. When Abraham's servant desired to acknowledge the kindness shown him by Rebecca at the well, "he took a golden ring of half a shekel weight, and put it on her face:"—or rather, "put it in her nose,"

—for such is the literal rendering.—[*Gen.*, xxiv., 22.] "Nose-jewels" are mentioned as a part of an elegant female's attire, in *Isaiah* iii., 21; on which Bishop Lowth observes:—"the phrase is to be literally and properly understood of *nose-jewels;* that is, *rings set with jewels hanging from the nostrils*, as ear-rings from the ears:"—and in the *Pictorial Bible* a wood-cut is given to illustrate that verse, showing the usual form of the nose-ring, as still used by the ladies of Cairo. In the same work, the editor says in his note on *Ezekiel*, xvi., 2, that "the jewel for the forehead, doubtless means the *nose-jewel;* as we have explained on former occasions:" and so indeed it is rendered in the margin of our English Bible. To this decoration there is an allusion in *Proverbs* xi., 22:—

"As a golden jewel in a swine's snout,
So is a woman, fair, but wanting discretion."

Various commentators on the Scriptures have shown that similar ornaments are, to this day, worn by females of rank, in Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Armenia. It is true they are not worn exactly as I suppose these to have been worn by the ladies of ancient Ireland. The oriental damsels bore a hole through the outer cartilage (usually that on the right side) of the nose; the ring, or rather *penannulus*, (for it is no more,) is passed through this hole, and prevented from falling off by a slight bend at the end of the wire, which answers the purpose of a hook; the other end of the circlet hangs down beside, or rather around, the corner of the mouth, till it reaches the lower side of the under-lip, where a jewelled drop or pendant is usually fastened. In point of elegance the difference could not be great; and I commend the daughters of Erin because they fastened on their nose-rings without boring holes in their nostrils for the purpose.

Why were so many as thirty or forty of these ornaments gathered together into one "pot" or vase? Nobody can tell; but I may offer a conjecture. They may have been the plunder gathered by a chieftain who had ravaged a hostile territory; and may have been committed to the earth, to secure them from the cupidity of his own people or the reprisals of his enemies. Or they may have been the stock in trade of a travelling goldsmith, some two or three thousand years ago. The former supposition seems to me the more likely one, as all the articles appear to have been used.

One point I add, as a caution to antiquarians. Mr. Moore, as has been stated, has sold one of his four *penannuli:* and he informs me that, at the desire of the purchaser, he filed off its flattened ends. The purchaser had no doubt that it had been a bracelet; intended to use it as such; and, finding the projections irksome to the arm, caused them to be removed. What has happened to one may have happened to others; and if any be met with which have not now this characteristic appendage, it is not to be inferred that they wanted it always. ERIGENA.

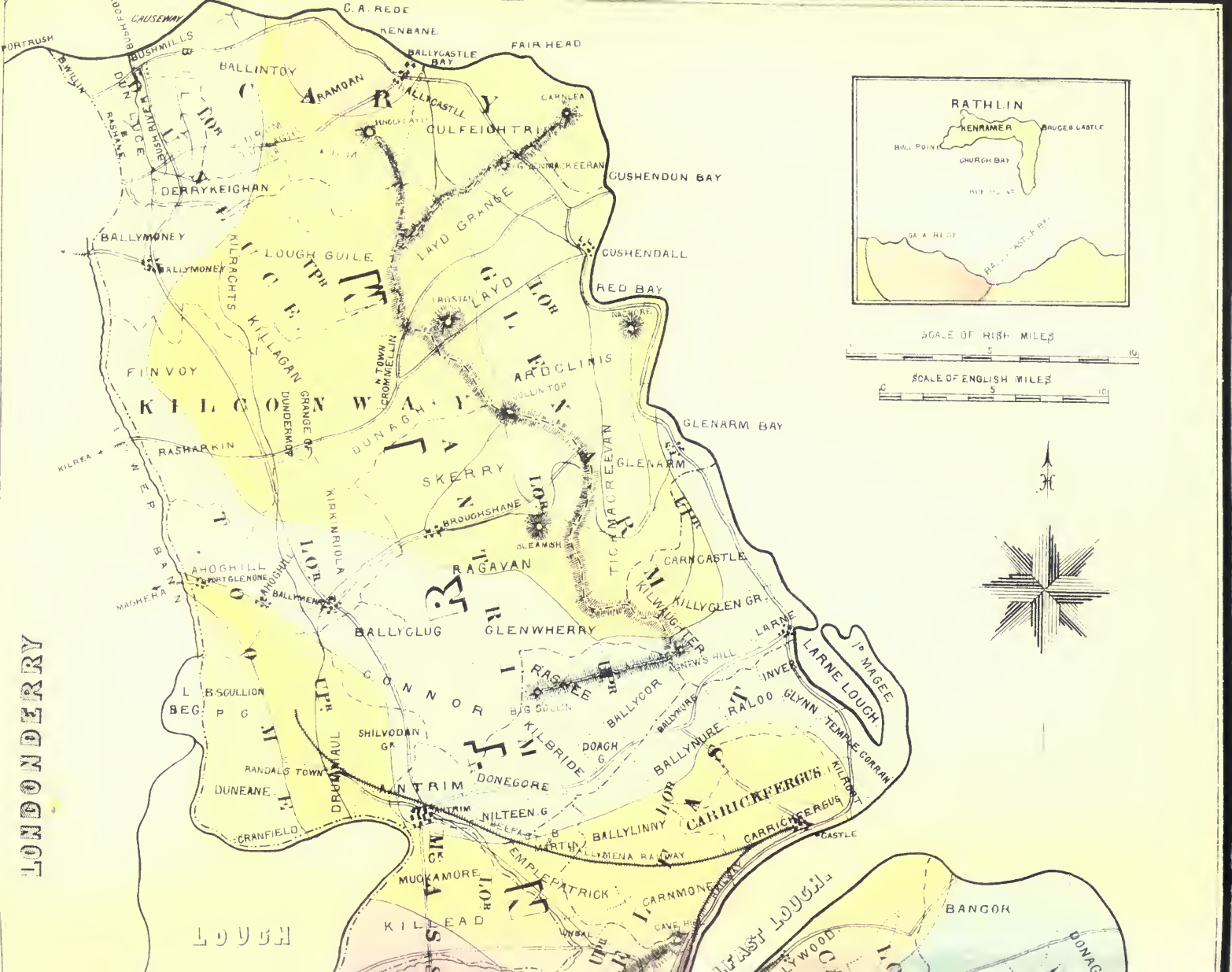
Belfast, 12th July, 1856.

ETHNOLOGY OF THE COUNTIES OF DOWN AND ANTRIM.

Though some of your readers are undoubtedly familiar with the general subject of Ethnology, there are others to whom not only it, but the name, may be unknown. For the sake of these latter, it may be well to explain that, while Natural Science investigates the laws of the Creator in reference to matter,—laws which exist apart from man, and do not require his existence,—Ethnology is the *general* subject which treats of man, and of his subdivisions and varieties over the face of the earth. There are several *particular* subjects which also relate to man. Thus, while he is specially included in Physiology and comparative Anatomy, Philology investigates the variety of his languages, Craniology that of his skulls, and Archæology that of his arts, manners, customs, &c. The knowledge which is accumulated, and the laws which are ascertained, by all these sub-sciences, are freely used in Ethnology; so that not only are higher results inductively obtained, to which none of them separately would lead, but the subject is necessarily later in coming before the world as a distinct topic for scientific research.

The Germans were among the first to give it marked attention. Their central position in Europe naturally directed their minds to the origin of the various tribes and peoples who surrounded them; their early acquaintance with Philology afforded them immense facilities for investigation; and their tendency to philosophise led them to see harmonious laws, where others noticed only a confused mass of details. In this country, though the *name* is new, we are to some extent familiar with the *subject;* for Prichard's *Researches in the Physical History of Mankind*, the publication of which extended over more than thirty years, was favourably received and extensively perused. In 1841, the late Dr Gustav Kombst, who possessed peculiar qualifications for the task from his extensive acquaintance with the peoples and languages of the countries, published his *Ethnographic Map of Europe;* and in 1843 the Ethnological Society[a] of London was founded, Dr. King and Dr Prichard being among its most prominent members. At Paris a similar society was established about the same time, and a Journal of Ethnology was published. In 1846 it was decided, mainly through the influence of Dr. Latham, to recognise Ethnology in the programme of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Accordingly it was made a sub-section of Zoology and Botany, occupying nearly

[a] It has just issued the fourth volume of its Transactions. A paper which gave rise to the present and several preceding ones, was read at the meeting of the British Association in Belfast; and the abridged newspaper account of it, (the only form in which it was procurable,) was reprinted in the third volume of the Transactions of this society.



LONDONDERRY
LOUGH
RATHLIN
KENRAMER
BRUCES CASTLE
BULL POINT
CHURCH BAY
SCALE OF IRISH MILES
SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES
C. A. REDE
KENBANE
FAIR HEAD
BALLYCASTLE BAY
BUSHMILLS
PORTRUSH
BALLINTOY
RAMOAN
BALLYCASTLE
CARNLEA
CULFEIGHTRIN
CUSHENDUN BAY
DERRYKEIGHAN
BALLYMONEY
LOUGH GUILE
LAYD GRANGE
CUSHENDALL
RED BAY
KILLAGAN
FINVOY
KILCONWAY
ARDCLINIS
GLENARM BAY
RASHARKIN
DUNAGH
SKERRY
GLENARM
BROUGHSHANE
TICKMACREEVAN
CARNCASTLE
AHOGHILL
RAGAVAN
KILLYGLEN GR.
BALLYCLUG
GLENWHERRY
LARNE
LARNE LOUGH
Ip MAGEE
CONNOR
RASHEE
BALLYCOR
INVER
RALOO
GLYNN
TEMPLE CORRAN
SHILVODAN GR.
KILBRIDE
DOAGH
BALLYNURE
RANDALS TOWN
DUNEANE
ANTRIM
DONEGORE
NILTEEN G.
BALLYLINNY
CARRICKFERGUS
CRANFIELD
MUCKAMORE
EMPLEPATRICK
CARNMONEY
KILLEAD
BANGOR

ARMAGH
BALLINDERRY
MAGHERGALL
LISBURN
AGHALEE
MAGHERA
MOIRA
CANAL
HILLSBOROUGH
UPPER IVEAGH
ANNAHILT
DROMORE
DROMARA
MAGHERALIN
DIONACHCLONEY
TULLYLISH
MAGHERALLY
SEAPATRICK
GARVAGHY
ANNACLONEY
AGHADERG
DRUMGOOLAND
DUNAGHMORE
DRUMGATH
DRUMNEY
BRONEY
NEWRY
CLONDUFF
KILCOO
MOURNE MOUNTAINS
SLIEVE DONARD
EAGLE MOUNTAIN
LOWER IVEAGH
MAGHERA
KILMEGAN
LOUGHINISLAND
KILMORE
KILLINCHY
KILLILEAGH
INCH
SAUL
DOWNPATRICK
LECALE
DOWN
TYRELLA
RATH MOLLEN
BRIGHT
ARDGLASS
DUNSFORT
KILCLIEF
B. CULTER
B. KINNEGAR
COMBER
NEWTOWNARDS
GREYABBEY
STRANGFORD LOUGH
INNISHARGY
ARDQUIN
BALLYHUSTAN
SLANES
WITCH
CASTLEBOY
ST ANDREWS
KILLYLEAGH
CASTLEREAGH
KINELARTY
SAINTFIELD
CRUMBO
DRUMBEG
DRUMBEG
KNOCKBRENDAN
TULLYNAKILL
DUFFERIN
ETHNOLOGICAL MAP OF
ANTRIM & DOWN.
Drawn by A Hamer
MDCCCLII.
W. J. HAMMOND & Co. LITH. LIVERPOOL.
Native Possessions
Lines of Scottish Immigration
English Settlements
Debatable & unappropriated

the same place which Physiology now does. In 1851, however, a more correct position was given to it, when it was agreed to unite Geography and Ethnology in a distinct section. Belfast was the first town of the empire in which this arrangement took effect; and it is universally acknowledged that the opening of a museum of national and local antiquities during the week of the meeting, contributed to the prestige of that success which has attended it thus far. As a last link in the chain of sequence, I may notice the establishing of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*.[b]

A person who travels through the whole of the two counties of which Belfast is the material centre, and who looks no more narrowly at the people than through the medium of their language, will be led to conclusions of the most erroneous kind. He will find them all speaking the English language; though a few also speak Irish, less however as the expression of thought than as a convenient mode of occasional communication. He will find that though peculiarities of dialect do exist, even within these narrow limits, they are slight; the Scotticisms being now met with near the sea-coast, and the Anglicisms having totally disappeared. Indeed every year exhibits a more complete fusion and homologising of peculiar local dialects; and, through the influence of education and the general diffusion of books at the same time, they are all gradually approaching the standard of pure English. An intelligent American, therefore, or a Frenchman, or Russian, whose attention had never been specially directed to subjects of this kind, might infer from casual observation that the people were all of kindred origin, or of the same sub-variety of the human species. If this were doubted, he could appeal to the comparatively narrow surface over which they are spread, the facilities which exist at present for intercommunication, and the fact that they speak the same language.

It is necessary, therefore, to state *in limine* that, though language is an important element in Ethnological investigations, it is a guide of the very lowest class; and in almost every instance, it must give place to other evidences, quite as easily reached, and investigated with greater facility. A few examples will suffice for illustration. In Ireland itself, we know that many of those who followed in the trains of the Norman invaders became identified with the native population. They were already identical in religion, and they became assimilated in language and manners, till they were said to be "*Hiberniores ipsis Hibernis*." To this day the family names of a large number of the peasantry in the South and West exhibit the Anglo-Norman[c] origin of the people; though

[b] The following is extracted from the Prospectus:—"The province of Ulster was already historically remarkable for retaining its ancient customs to a comparatively recent period, and for the extraordinary changes of population afterwards superinduced by a new and extensive colonization. It was, also, at an early period, known to have been the battle-field of the native Irish chieftains and the Scandinavian Sea-Kings. Other distinct races of men, from time to time, are recorded to have effected settlements in the district, whose lineal descendants yet remain. But until the present Exhibition, [of Antiquities,] it was not suspected that all these varied events had left vivid and unmistakeable traces throughout the whole province."

[c] A few years ago, two gentlemen tourists in the south of Tipperary inquired the names of a large number of the people of the country as they met them. They report that about thirty per cent. bore names which had no relation whatever to the districts.

many assumed Irish names, and more adapted their own to the Celtic forms, as in the case of Burke from De Burgo. It was equally easy, or nearly so, for the small number of mediæval Spaniards to be Hibernicised at Galway, the Welsh in the Barony of Forth, the "Danes" in the County Wicklow, the "Fingallians" near Swords and Malahide, and the Dalriadic Scots in the North East.

In Scotland there have been two great periods of assimilation. In the ninth century of our era, the Scots from the North of Ireland, who had established themselves in the south-western Highlands, conquered the whole of Caledonia as then constituted; and the language of the kingdom of Kenneth became the Gaelic, which is still known in various districts. Yet this was not the ancestral tongue of the conquerors; nor indeed of any but a small portion of the conquered. The most recent researches seem to place it beyond a doubt that the Picts, of whom so much has been written, were decidedly a branch of the great Teutonic family; the Caledonians, north of the Highland ridge were decidedly so, even before the time of Tacitus; the Shetland Isles, and, in part, the Orkneys,[d] contain a purely Scandinavian colony, who have preserved till our own times the characteristics of their race; the Hebrides were Danish, as the names of the individual islands abundantly testify; and there was also a certain proportion of Gaels, probably an early wave of the great Celtic tide that for centuries flowed steadily westward. Again, in our own times, the English tongue is gradually superseding the Gaelic, especially since the extensive clearances from the Highlands within the last twenty years, by which a large portion of the people claiming to be Celts, but in reality slightly so, have been transferred to Canada West. Our Anglo-Saxon tongue will then be spoken, north of the Tweed, by the descendants of every people who have visited its shores; indeed it is so at this moment.[e] We hear the peculiar dialect of the country, from the children of the following:—"Celts and Gaels; Picts; Scandinavians, Danes, and Scythian-Teutones; Angles, Saxons, and Jutes; a few Normans; and French, mainly settled in Ayrshire in the reign of Mary.

It is evident, therefore, that the adoption of language, at any moment, as a guide is insufficient; though it would not be wise to reject such assistance as it affords. There are family resemblances, however faint, among the whole populations of Europe, which point to a common ancestry; and there are resemblances among the languages of Europe of a very distinct kind, pointing to a common source. Languages and individual words, like tribes and individual men, have their pedigrees and "trees;" but the two, though planted side by side, do not grow and branch with equal rapidity. The Sanscrit seems to be the parent of our various European languages, and the approximate parent

[d] The picture of Magnus Troil in Scott's Pirate was more a portrait than a fictitious sketch. An ancestor of the family of Henderson, well known on the English northern circuit, was the Scandinavian Jarl. The name of Laing is identified with this people, and associated with its literature and history.

[e] A striking illustration of the same principle exists in the United States of America. The mass of the people are called "Saxon;" but all the ore to be found in our home population is fused up with it. There are, besides, Spaniards in Florida, French in New Orleans and the neighbourhood, Dutch in and near New York, Swedes and Italians at various points, and Germans everywhere. Yet, strictly speaking, the country has but one language.

of a still larger family; but even that leaves us far from primitive times, and at a period when mankind must have been widely scattered over the face of the earth. It is obvious, therefore, that in investigating the people of any given district, we must commence at some period (perhaps not definitely fixed) and examine the branches both of population and languages as they ramify over it. This is the course that will be followed here, starting from two distinct points.

If we commence at the earliest period to which we can conveniently refer, we derive the people of Down and Antrim from the following lines of ancestry :—

A. *Pre-historic People.*—Of these little definite is known. They constructed numerous earth-works and stone monuments, which the common people usually and conveniently account for by ascribing them to the "Danes." They were also skilled in the arts, as the glass beads and works in bronze sufficiently attest. Their monuments are found all over the two counties, even in situations which, in modern times, have been covered with bog and forest. But, as in England, Italy, and other countries, this condition may have come upon a district previously fertile and inhabited. Like a geological stratum which itself contains numerous laminæ, the term "Pre-historic People" may include many races; they may, in short, have been a complete Ethnological chain in themselves.

B. *Celtic People.*—These are among the earliest that we positively know. They spread originally, no doubt, over the entire district; but probably, during the whole Christian period, were restricted mainly to the upper parts of the county Down.

C. *Celticized Scythians.*—These were a Teutonic people, who arrived before the Christian era: but they are usually confounded with the Celts, whose language they adopted. They occupied Dalriada, including the northern part of the present Antrim and Down, and spread into the country along the valley of the Lagan. Their original name, slightly altered, became "*Scots*;" and this they imparted first to a large portion of Ireland, (Scotia Major), and afterwards to a small portion[f] of Scotland (Scotia Minor). In the course of time their name, as applied to Ireland, was dropped; and the conquest of the Picts by Kenneth (Mac Alpine) gave it to the united people—and hence the modern term "Scotland."

D. [*Romans.*]—Roman objects have been found in Down and Antrim;[g] but it is more than doubtful whether they were placed there by the Roman people.

E. *Anglo-Normans.*—These occupied Newry, part of Downpatrick, and particular spots in the Barony of Lecale. Their number was not large at any time: and they had become but as a

[f] The modern Argyle and Lorn.

[g] I have a circular from Mr. James Carruthers, of Belfast, dated 1st June, 1836, respecting some supposed Roman objects found in Loughey, near Donaghadee. Mr. Carruthers thinks that a Roman, sailing past, was carried on shore either sick or dead, and afterwards interred there. This view is hardly consistent with the number of objects found.

rivulet in the tide of new circumstances that rolled in at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

F. *Pure Saxons and Scandinavians.*—The adjective must be understood relatively, not absolutely. In the reign of James I. it would have been difficult to find even so much as a single parish or township inhabited by perfectly pure Saxons; though it was well known that large portions of several shires were mainly so. The Lowlands of Scotland, in the reign of the Conqueror, were Saxonised to about the same extent that England was Normanised; for the conquered people, and especially the rich, fled across the Border to enjoy the protection of Malcolm Canmore. But the portion from which our district was peopled was mainly Wigton, Kirkcudbright, Dumfries, and Ayr, within which lay the ancient kingdom of the Galwegians. This current of population flowed in from Donaghadee and Bangor towards the centre of Down; and from Island Magee and Carrickfergus round the southern side of the plateau of Antrim.

G. *Impure Saxons and Normans.*—These were the settlers from England in the seventeenth century. A few had obtained a settlement previously on the north coast of Antrim, near Ballycastle.

H. *Miscellaneous.*—*a.* French in and near Lisburn.

b. Germans at Ballykennedy, and partially at Ballinderry and Kilkeel.

c. Crosses among the three peoples E, F, G; frequent.

d. Crosses among the peoples B, C; frequent, till they have long been undistinguishable.

e. Crosses, between B, C, on the one side, and E, F, G, on the other; rare.

We shall now view the whole of the population from another and more practical point of view. There is a period in history at which three distinct streams began to flow, each of them, it is true, the product of numerous tributaries; and, with very slight admixture of their waters, they continue to flow distinct and distinguishable to the present hour. The civil history of the district may be said to commence at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as law and order were then established, and permanent prosperity began to dawn. Whatever may have been the primitive elements of which each was composed, it had its specific characteristics deeply marked upon it; and, after showing, sketchily, the local position which each occupies, the proofs and illustrations derivable from characteristics can be easily followed up. The three sets of people, to take them in inverted order, were the English, Scotch, and Irish.

1.—ENGLISH SETTLERS.

Under this head may be included classes E, F, G, and some of those under H, as just noticed in the other arrangement. They are what Dr. Kombst would call by some such euphonious name as the

following :—"Anglo-Saxon—Teutonic—Anglo-Norman—Danish—Scandinavian—Brito-Celtic." With the exception of some remnants, of little importance, at Newry, Downpatrick, and Ballycastle, the English people may be said to have had no existence in these counties in 1603, except in their castles and garrisons. It is true that the Romans in their colonies civilised by means of their soldiers; but then they used the plough and the pickaxe as well as the sword; and were not so exclusively fighting men as the military of modern times are.

It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the "English settlements in Antrim and Down," as that has already been done in a separate article in this Journal. [Vol. 1, pp. 246—254.] The "planters" or colonists from South Britain were followed from their homes in the shires of Warwick, Worcester, and Gloucester, to their new settlements on the banks of the Lagan and the shores of Lough Neagh. The stream of population from one district was, however, an exceptional case. The grants were usually made to successful soldiers, who had made their way by personal valour and good service; and the men under their command might not have been raised in their native district, or might not have felt disposed to settle in a country where the scale of comforts was so low, and where the spear and the pruning-hook could hardly yet be separated. But the places of persons of this kind were supplied by adventurers who had much to gain and little to lose, like many of the emigrants from our own shores. Others, no doubt, foresaw that a better state of things must soon follow; and that youth, health, and industry could hardly fail of success in a country where the soil was good and the competition slight. Accordingly, in 1635, we find Sir William Brereton mentioning a Cheshire woman as innkeeper in Carrickfergus; many Lancashire and Cheshire farmers south of Belfast, tenants to Mr. Arthur Hill; and a clergyman from Manchester, chaplain to the Bishop of Dromore.[i] No doubt, a person from some other part of England would, in like manner, have noticed how many were from his own neighbourhood; as an emigrant from this country still does on his arrival in Australia, Canada, or the United States.

The English settlers commenced at Carrickfergus on the one side of Belfast Lough, and Ballymacarrett on the other; and, passing up both sides of Belfast, in a south-westerly direction, they stopped near the Pomeroy mountains in Tyrone. They passed right across Armagh on both sides of Portadown; though the bogs and marshes, near the mouth of the Upper Bann, on the south shore of Lough Neagh, rendered a great part of the country uninhabitable. They occupied the whole of the Barony of Lower Massareene, and the southern part of Lower Belfast, in Antrim; and in Down, the whole parishes of Drumbeg, Lambeg, Moira (not then separate), Maghera-lin, and Donaghcloney, with parts of Knockbreda, Hillsborough, and Tullylish, adjoining the others.

[h] This peculiar terminology is adopted for the purpose of showing, not merely the constituent elements, but the order of their contribution. Here, for example, the Anglo-Saxon element is strongest, the Teutonic next, and the Brito-Celtic weakest of all.

[i] Theophilus Buckworth, "Friar of Armagh."

2.—SCOTTISH SETTLEMENTS.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century the seed had been sown, the fruit of which is our Colonial Empire; but not one of our present colonies was founded. America had been discovered, and the farce had not unfrequently been played of different navigators affecting to discover[j] lands for their respective Governments; but the Pilgrim Fathers had not yet begun to discuss the possibility of being obliged to seek new homes. The Atlantic was traversed, but with doubt and hesitation; and, owing to the geographical position of the people of the world, as well as to the limited knowledge of navigation which was then possessed, it had not become what it is now—the most popular and the best frequented of the great highways of the globe. But, except in intellectual attainments, *man* was the same. There was the same per-centage of idlers and adventurers, the same proportion of restless spirits who sought mere change; and, with a sense of the enterprise as great as that of persons who now proceed to the Antipodes, they undertook a fatiguing land journey, or braved all the dangers (and they were no small ones), of crossing the narrow seas. In short, what Australia and California are at present to the redundant population of our countries, Ireland was to those of the reign of James I.

There are two points at which Scotland seems to stretch out her hands towards Ireland—the Mull of Galloway, which lies near Donaghadee, in the County Down, and the Mull of Cantyre, which points to Ballycastle and Fairhead, in Antrim. In the latter case, the sea passage is reduced to a minimum of about fifteen miles,[k] and in the former of about twenty—a fact which is of great importance at any time, but was of a vast deal more then. These are the natural and obvious pathways by which the population of Scotland and Ireland has for thousands of years ebbed and flowed; each in turn being the parent and the daughter country. The Teutonic Scyths, known as the "Dalriadic Scots," passed by the more westerly of these routes from Antrim to their new homes in Argyle; and centuries afterwards, some of their descendants, under the names of MacDonnell, McNeill, Macalister, Macnaghtan, &c., returned to claim a settlement in their ancestral country. On the Down side, the distance was somewhat greater; and partly in consequence of this, the early intercourse was very different. Whether we suppose, with some, that the Galwegians were of the race of the Picts, or with others, that they were the northern remnants of the Ancient Britons who through Wirrall and Lancashire occupied Cumberland and Westmoreland, there were sufficient

[j] "A group of islands near the southern extremity of America, was discovered by Sir John Davis, and called (1) *Davis's South Land;* it was also discovered by Hawkins, who called it (2) *Hawkins's Maiden Land;* by Sebald de West, who named the islands the (3) *Sebaldines;* by a native of St. Malo, who called them (4) *Malouines;* by a navigator from the Low Countries, who gave the name (5) *Belgic Austral;* and by another Englishman, who gave the permanent name (6) the *Falkland Isles.*"—*Hume's Philosophy of Geographical Names.*

[k] "Twixt Erwin in Scottland and Colraine in Ireland are the highest running seas about the Land of Raughrick [Raghley or Rathlin], wch is an island belonging to the Earle of Antrim. The shortest passage twixt Scotland and Ireland is from Mule Kanteir, a Rocke or Point of the highlanders in Scotland wch is sixteen mile to the Faire Head or Marble Head in Ireland. This is onely a passage for the Highlanders. From Porte Patricke to Carricke Fergus is about nineteen leagues, and to Donoh-a-Dee or Groomes Porte about fifteen leagues, as one of the Sayleors informed mee."—*Brereton's Travels.*

reasons for their limited intercourse. In modern times, however, the south-west of Scotland has been Hibernicised, and the north-east of Ireland Scotticised: Scotland was the main instrument of "planting" these two counties two centuries ago; and since, before the beginning of the present century, Ireland has supplied the labour market, either permanently or at intervals. The Scottish colonisation, however, was unlike the English. It was not a single effort, undertaken at one time by few individuals, but, from geographical and other causes, a constant stream of immigration poured from the Irish coast inland.

Sir William Brereton says, in 1635—"We came to Mr. James Blare's in Erwin, a well affected man, who informed me of that wch is much to be admired: Above 10,000 persons have wthin 2 yeares last past left the country wherein they lived, wch was betwixt Aberdeen and Enverness, and are gone for Ireland: they have come by 100 in Comp's through this Town, and 200 have gone hence for Ireland togeather, shipped for Ireland at one tyde. None of them can give a Reason why they leave the countrey, onely some of them who make a better use of God's Hand uppon [them] have acknowledged to mine Host, in these words, 'That it was a Just Judgment of God upon them to spue them out of the land for their onthankfulness.' This Countrye was so fruitful formerly, as itt supplyed an overplus of corne, wch was carried by water to Leith, and now of late, for 2 yeares is so sterill of corne as they are constrained to forsake itt. Some say that these hard yeares the servaunts were not able to live and subsist onder their Maisters; and therefore, generally leaving them, the Maisters being not accustomed nor knowing how to frame, to till and order their Land, the ground hath been ontilled, so as that of the Prophete David is made good in this their punish[t]:—'A fruitful land makes he barren, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein.' For itt is observed of thes[e]. That they was a most onthankful People. One of them I mett with all, and discoursed wth att large, who could [give] no goode Reason, but pleaded the Landlords increasing their Rents. But their swarming in Ireland is so much taken notice of and disliked, as that the Deputie hath sent out a Warrant, to stay the Landing of any of these Scotch that come without a certificate. Three-score of them were numbered returning toward the place whence they came, as they passed this Town. Some of them complayned of hard yeers (the better to colour and iustify their departure), but doe wthal acknowledge that Corne is as cheap wth them as in this Towne. Butt in the distraction and different Relation of themselves there may bee observed much matter of admiration: and doubtless *Digitus Dei* is to be discerned in itt."

The inconveniences of a sea voyage were then sufficiently great. The boat was one "of about 10 tunne," and had to carry "five horses of ours, and five Yorkshiremen and horses," together with "two or three of an Irish laird's, who staid for a passage" with his wife. In addition to these "they tooke in four horses more than wee covenanted, and was soe much overthronged with passengers as wee had nott every man his owne length allowed to lye at ease." Sir William's party sailed from Chappell [the modern Stranraer], and "about eight or nine mile from the coast of Ireland passed

the Stran-gawre, which is a mightye high running channel where there is a concurrence and confluence of three strong tides." On reaching land, they lay at anchor "under the shelter of a high hill [the Black Rock, which is in the Island of Mague]," and taking up their lodging in the open boat "suffered a weteold lodging." "The horses were thrown into the sea, and swam ashore, and the landing of the men must have been very discouraging.

The difficulties attending the passage afforded one reason for the frequency of attempting it. The offender against law was almost secure from pursuit and punishment; and even in the middle and close of last century, the severance between an humble man and his family was complete, unless an opportunity was presented for a verbal message. During the religious persecutions of Scotland, a large number found refuge[1] in both counties, but especially in Down; and there is hardly a parish in the Scottish districts that does not contain its traditional tales on this interesting subject. The political excitement of 1715, and especially that of 1745, sent their tribute of population also: it was on the latter occasion that several of the McKinnons arrived from the Isle of Skye, whose descendants are now known under the cognate names of McKenna and McCannon. Several of the proscribed clan Macgregor found new homes here, and assumed the names Gregor, Gregory, Greer, &c. The comparatively small number in Antrim who bear the name Campbell, would seem to show that not very many entered the county by the Causeway and the Bann; for the preponderating names are certainly Stewart and Hamilton, and these in all probability entered by Carrickfergus, Templepatrick, and Antrim.

The Scotch settlers comprised a few of the class C, and the whole of F of the previous arrangement. They occupied the lowlands in Antrim, on the coast to near Glenarm, and in the interior of the county where there were fewest impediments of mountain, bog, or forest. In Down, they passed over the bleak district near the north of Strangford lough, and passed on towards the centre of the county; having the hilly districts on the one side and the English settlers on the other.

3.—NATIVE IRISH

These comprised the remainder of the class A, which, however, had long become lost in B; the whole of B; and a large portion of C. The entire of this population, broken and conquered, reduced also in numbers by continued wars, by famine and disease, occupied, when possible, strong positions. The land which was least accessible, or least desirable, they still regarded as their own; and fled to the hills and morasses. It is curious to see how the popular language has embodied these facts in such expressions as "back-of-the-hill folk," "mountainy people," "bog trotters," &c. There they and their descendants still remain, except the surplus who have found occupation in the plains, or the humbler classes who have settled in towns.

[1] A Belfast newspaper, in presuming to review the first number of this Journal, gravely questioned whether political or religious refugees from Scotland had ever settled in Ireland; and almost openly denied that ever there had been French settlers at Lisburn. It was in the same paper that a father and son are confounded (Sorley Boy and MacSorley Boy), and that the translation of the term was not understood, even when presented in plain English!!

The desire which was manifested to mingle the native Irish with their new friends was only partially gratified. The Laverys of Moira have been already noticed. [Vol. 1, p. 253.] But it is remarkable that their mixture,—to use a common mode of expression,—was mechanical, not chemical. In the upper parts of both counties, as at Rathfriland and Castlewellan, there are several townlands in a parish with probably not a single landholder of English or Scottish descent; and others adjoining in which the whole population are Irish in blood, religion, manners, appearance, and partly in language. They stand face to face, after the lapse of 200 years and more, in many instances with their traditional animosities fresh and hot as ever.

The Map which accompanies this short essay is intended to show the condition of the district in the early part of the 17th century. It exhibits only part of the land occupied, and a large portion of it, though possessed of local names and conveyed by grants, of no actual use to any one except to those who sought to avoid the rest of the community. A very large portion of what is called "debateable and unappropriated" has been reduced under cultivation within our own times, and other portions from the middle of last century.

The names of the three nations are still kept up on the one soil, and among persons inhabiting adjoining farms or cottages. A member of the Established Church is still called English;[m] a person with a little of the dialect of "the land of Burns" is called Scotch, though born beside them; and a person with small round face, inexpressive features, and large structure of the mouth, is said to be very Irish looking. From the great increase of Scottish population, they occupied most of the unappropriated ground in after times. The two streams converged towards Belfast by Holywood, Knockbreda, and Castlereagh on the one side, and by Templepatrick and Carnmoney on the other. The English population, on the other hand, retained its absolute condition, and became relatively weaker, till Belfast, which was originally an English town, has practically become a Scottish one. The same remark applies in part to Carrickfergus.

It is only necessary to say, that every Ethnological map is to some extent tentative, and therefore only approximately correct. The general idea may be true, but it is difficult to secure perfection in details. In the present instance, however, the facts are so obvious and the reasons so plain that the errors, such as they are, must be small. I am not aware that any previous attempt has been made, on so small a scale, to exhibit the different elements of our population; and indeed there are few localities where the facts exhibit so much interest. The proofs and illustrations which might be advanced are so numerous that it would be inconvenient even to enumerate them on the present occasion. But an early opportunity will be taken to enter fully into these subjects: and to show how various departments of knowledge, like the stones in an arch, mutually sustain and strengthen each other.

A. Hume.

[m] "We are English too," said the woman. "Dear me," said the other, "I should not have thought so from your speech. Pray when did you come over?" "Oh, we comed over vid Oliver Crumwell, Ma'am."—*Modern Conversation.*

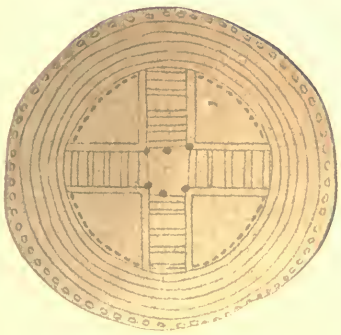
GOLD DISKS FOUND IN IRELAND.

The accompanying chromo-lithograph (Fig. 1), gives an accurate representation of a thin plate of pure gold, found, in the year 1844, at Ballydahob, in the western extremity of the County Cork. It was discovered accidentally by some quarrymen in the cleft of a rock, covered carefully with earth and a rude pavement of stones. Along with it were two or three similar pieces, which were put into the fire by the workmen to try if they were gold, and were destroyed. In the same place were found some specimens of the bronze articles known by the name of "ring money," which were broken by the finders, and the fragments of which are still in the possession of the owner of this gold plate, Mr. Swanton, of Crann-liath, Ballydahob. This plate was sent to the great Exhibition of Irish Antiquities, held in the Belfast Museum in 1852, and was the only specimen of the kind in the collection.

It is of the exact size shown in the drawing, and is made of very pure gold about the thickness of ordinary writing-paper, weighing twelve grains and half a pennyweight. The ornamentation has evidently been produced by stamping on one side of the metal. The inner portion of the circle is occupied by the figure of a Maltese cross composed of a series of straight lines; and round the outer edge there is the appearance of an inscription. Various attempts were made to decypher this by the help of powerful microscopes, but without success; and it was finally thought advisable to take such means as would secure a perfect *fac simile* for the examination of future inquirers. This was accomplished by means of photography, and by taking an accurate cast of the plate; so that with this assistance the artist has been able to produce a very correct representation of the object.

As nothing certain is known regarding the use to which such gold disks were applied, it may be of some interest to collect here the few scattered notices which have appeared on the subject. Perhaps the most curious of these is the account given by Bishop Gibson, in his edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1722), of some gold plates found in the County of Donegal in a singular manner:—

"Near Bellishannon [Ballyshannon] were, not many years ago, dug up two pieces of gold, discovered by a method very remarkable. The Bishop of Derry happening to be at dinner, there came in an old Irish harper, and sung an old song to his harp. His lordship, not understanding Irish, was at a loss to know the meaning of the song; but upon inquiry he found the substance of it to be this, that in such a place, naming the very spot, a man of gigantic stature lay buried; and that over his breast and back were *plates of pure gold*, and on his fingers rings of gold so large that an ordinary man might creep through them. The place was so exactly described, that two persons there present were



tempted to go in quest of the golden prize which the harper's song had pointed out to them. After they had dug for some time, they found *two thin pieces of gold, circular, and more than two inches in diameter.* This discovery encouraged them the next morning to seek for the remainder, but they could find nothing more."

Dr. Drummond, in his *Ancient Irish Minstrelsy*, [Preface, p. xxvii.] conjectures that the poem which suggested the above remarkable discovery was one called *Moira Borb:* and the passage particularly referring to it appears thus in his translation, [p 42]:—

"In earth beside the loud cascade
The son of Sora's king we laid;
And on each finger placed a ring
Of gold, by mandate of our king."

The original Irish of this passage may be seen in Miss Brooke's *Reliques of Irish Poetry*, p. 293 and is as follows:—

"Adhlaicthear rinn ag an Eas
An laoch far theann treise is gniomh,
Curthar air fa bhraghaid gach meoir
Fàinne oir a n-onoir mo righ."

Miss Brooke's English version differs but slightly from that of Dr. Drummond:—

"The valiant Sora by the stream we laid,
And, while his last and narrow house we made,
We on each finger placed a glittering ring,
To grace the foe, in honour of our king."

But Miss Brooke has loosely translated the word "*Eas*" by "stream," which Dr. Drummond more literally renders by "cascade." Now, the ancient name of the spot near which the golden ornaments were found, [Ballyshannon] was "*Eas*-ruadh," derived from the remarkable "water-fall" there, now known as the "salmon-leap." This certainly adds force to the conjecture of Dr. Drummond. However there is no mention made, in this passage, of *plates of gold;* and the Bishop does not inform us in his account in what spot the discovery was made. A writer in a London periodical [Willis's *Current Notes*, Aug., 1854][a] suggests that another poem, still existing in MS., in his possession, and not the one called *Moira Borb*, was that which was translated for the Bishop. In this poem (of which, however, he does not give any further particulars) the following *Coangal* or chorus occurs:—

"Air bharr Sleibhe Mouard
Ann ata feart churaidh;
'S dhà fhleasg òir fa chorp a laoich,
Is fàil òrdha air a mheura."

[a] This writer was the late T. Crofton Croker, Esq.: in Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, for the same observations are printed, with his name.

"On the top of Slieve Monard
There is a hero's grave;
And *two gold plates* enclose the warrior's body,
And there are golden rings on his fingers."

A representation of one of the plates discovered at Ballyshannon is given in *Gibson's Camden*, and is here engraved (fig. 2) for the purpose of comparison. It corresponds very nearly with the disk found at Ballydahob, and like it has a cross in the centre, though not the Maltese cross.

In the *Collectanea Antiqua*[b] several instances are mentioned of the finding of circular gold plates in the south of Ireland. Of one of these, discovered at Castle Treasure, near Douglas, Cork, a drawing is given, which is identical in almost every particular with this last. It is copied in our plate, (fig. 3.) It weighed 1 dwt., 10 grs., and was exhibited by Mr. Croker, in 1845, to the Central Committee of the British Archæological Association.

In the *Dublin Penny Journal* [January, 1833, p. 244] a wood-cut is given of a similar plate of gold found a few years previously in the county of Roscommon, and preserved in the collection of Dr. Petrie, Dublin. He states it as his opinion that these plates were used as ornaments on the back and breast of the king and nobles in the early ages of Christianity in Ireland; and, in proof of this, mentions that the figures of the kings, sculptured *in relievo* on the great stone cross at Clonmacnoise, are represented with round plates of this description placed upon the breast. This wood-cut is copied in our plate, Fig. 4. It corresponds in size with Fig. 1, and also agrees in having a Maltese cross as the central ornament.

There can be little doubt that the whole of the specimens here figured belong to the same class, and that they must belong to Christian times; but as we have no historic references to show that they were used since the English Invasion of Ireland, the probability is that they date from a much earlier period. I would conjecture, however, that they were more likely to have been worn by ecclesiastics than by kings or nobles. Such a practice was not unknown in the early ages of Christianity. Eusebius [*Hist. Eccles.*, l. 5, c. 24,] tells us, on the authority of Polycrates, who lived near the time of the Apostles, that St. John, the Evangelist, wore a metal plate like that which the Jewish high-priest bore upon his forehead; and the same is affirmed of St. James, the Apostle of Jerusalem, by Epiphanius. [*Hæres.*, 78.] But I would consider it still more probable that such Christian symbols as are here represented were worn by those warriors of the church, the Knights Templars, or the Knights of Malta; and the special form of the *Maltese cross* on two of the plates now figured would seem to corroborate this idea. These knights had large possessions and numerous commanderies in Ireland; and we know that on their armour and robes the sign of the cross always figured prominently.

It is quite certain, however, that gold ornaments were used from a most remote period on the

[b] Privately printed by Charles Roach Smith, Esq. London, 1854.

armour of warriors both in Ireland and other countries. Frequent allusions are met with in old Irish MSS. to the use of gold in decorating shields and other portions of armour, as for instance in the *Books of Rights*, [Leabhar na gCeart] pp. 73, 83,[c] where mantles and sword-hilts adorned with gold are mentioned. Similar references are found in old Welsh writings—thus :—

"Llewychedig aur ar fy nghylchwys."

Gwalchmai.

"Bright glitters the gold on my round shield."

And

"Eilwaith gwelais gwedy gweithien
Aur ysgwyd ar ysgwydd Urien."

Llywarch Hên.

"A second time I saw after that conflict
A golden shield on the shoulder of Urien."

The Rev. Richard Pococke, Lord Bishop of Meath, in a paper published in vol. 2 of the *Archæologia*, after quoting Camden's account (given above) of the gold plates found at Ballyshannon, adds :—"Nor does it seem that the wearing of such plates was peculiar to the Irish; for Strahlenberg informs us that round plates of gold or other metal were worn by the Tartarian generals on several parts of the body; one on the breast, one on the back, and one on each shoulder."

We are not without examples of such gold plates found in Ireland not bearing the symbol of the Cross. In the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, [vol. 6] an engraving and description are given of a circular plate of gold weighing one ounce, four of which were found near Enniscorthy, in the county of Wexford, in 1795. They were about $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, and very thin; deeply embossed, or stamped, on one side only, with a series of ornaments consisting of a round central boss surrounded by two concentric circles composed of hexagons, each containing a small round boss. This was very probably the ornament of a shield.

Another gold plate rather larger in diameter than our Fig. 1, and without a cross, but ornamented with the zig-zag pattern which is often found on Irish cinerary urns, was dug up in the south of Ireland, and is (or was) in the possession of Mr. William Lyecester, of Cork;[d] and an oblong plate of gold, slightly ornamented with straight lines, was found on the breast of a skeleton, near Castlemartyr, in the same county.

In England we have also examples of plates very similar in workmanship, though differing in ornamentation. In the 18th volume of the *Archæologia* [pp. 199, 200] it is mentioned that,—"In February, 1815, at Halton Moor, about five miles from Lancaster, a silver cup was found containing 860 silver pennies, and six pieces of stamped gold. The gold pieces are laminæ, struck on one side and *incuse* on the other. They are precisely alike, representing a human head in the rudest style of workmanship. Many pieces of gold, much resembling them, have been found in Denmark; but

[c] Published by the Celtic Society, Dublin, 1847. [d] Given on the authority of Mr. Windele, of Cork.

the numismatic writers of that country are not determined in their opinion as to the fact of their being coins or not. They bear a strong resemblance to the coins called *nummi bracteati;* but as (while their preservation is all equally good) they differ in weight (one weighing 19 3-10ths grains and another 16 2-10ths grains), we are inclined to believe that they had not been intended for money; which opinion we are the more inclined to adopt from the circumstance of their having two holes drilled through them, as if for the purpose of attaching them as ornaments to some other body." "Four hundred of the pennies and two pieces of the stamped gold were sent to London; the rest were dispersed in the neighbourhood of Lancaster. Of the 400 pennies, 21 appear to be Danish, and 379 are of Canute." This fact appears to prove that the gold plates in this case were of Scandinavian origin.

A curious instance is given in Stukely's *Stonehenge* [p. 31] of a thin plate, composed of another metal, having been found on the site of that remarkable monument in Wiltshire. His words are:—"Eternally to be lamented is the loss of that tablet of tin, which was found at this place, in the time of King Henry VIII., inscribed with many letters, but in so strange a character that neither Sir Thomas Elliott, a learned antiquary, nor Mr. Lilly, master of St. Paul's school, could make any thing out of it. Mr. Somnes may be in the right, who judges it to have been Punic: I imagine if we call it Irish, we shall not err much. No doubt but it was a memorial of the founders, wrote by the Druids; and had it been preserved until now would have been an invaluable curiosity."

Belfast. ROBERT MACADAM.

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

SMOKING-PIPES.—While at Ardfert, about ten years ago, I was often led by curiosity to visit the ruins of the old abbey, and sometimes picked up from the mortar of the walls the grape-shot lodged there from the guns of Cromwell's army. On one occasion, at a spot where time had caused the mortar to crumble away, and had loosened some of the stones, I found an ancient smoking-pipe *between the lime and the stones*, where it must have been accidently imbedded in the mortar. From its position in the wall, and from the peculiar shape of the pipe (precisely the same as those frequently dug up, and called *Danes' pipes*) I have no doubt that it must have been deposited there at the building of the abbey.

Broughshane. W. J. O'HARA.

CHEQUERS.—I have had some difficulty in ascertaining the meaning of this old sign, so universally seen at the doors of taverns in England. Some have said it indicated a certain game played in houses of entertainment; but the proper explanation is this:—The arms of Warren and Surrey are here represented; for this family having accompanied King William I. into England were endowed with the exclusive right of granting licenses for the sale of malt liquors. The family arms, painted on the door, were the proof that the house had been duly licensed.

E. G.

CROMLECHS AND ARTIFICIAL CAVES.—Correct drawings (or photographs, if possible) of such Cromlechs as still exist are very desirable, and

could easily be collected if every archæologist would undertake the task in his own neighbourhood, and transmit them to the editor of this Journal. Lists of the caves known to exist in different localities (with measurements, where practicable) ought to be made. A few words of description would be quite sufficient. H. P.

Bronze Hook.—In the last number of the Journal [vol. 4, p. 96] an engraving was given of a very curious hook, in the possession of Mr. G. Stephenson. Having lately had occasion to consult Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, I met with a drawing of an instrument nearly identical with it. I subjoin the passage referring to it, as it may be of interest in connection with the subject:—"*Harpago*, ἁρπάγη; λύκος; κεστάγρα;) a grappling-iron, a drag, a flesh-hook.—*Ez.* xxvii, 3.—*Samuel*, 11, 13, 14, Septu.—Aristoph. *Vesp.*, 1152.—Anaxippus *apud Athen.*, iv., 68. The iron-fingered flesh-hook (Brunck, *Anal.*, ii., 215) is described by the scholiast on Aristophanes [*Equit*, 769] as an instrument used in cookery, resembling a hand with the fingers bent inwards, used to take meat out of the cauldron.' *Four specimens of it in bronze are in the British Museum:* one of these is here represented. [A wood-cut is given.] Into its hollow extremity a wooden handle was inserted. A similar instrument, or even the flesh-hook itself, [Aristoph. *Eccles.* 194] was used to draw up a pail, or to recover anything which had fallen into a well."—Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq.*, p. 466.

It would be very desirable to ascertain where the specimens were found which are now in the British Museum.

Cork. Richard Caulfield.

[We have caused inquiry to be made of Mr. Hawkins, at the British Museum, and have learned from that gentleman that the bronze hooks alluded to were discovered in Etruscan tombs.—Edit.]

Dr. O'Donovan, in a paper published lately in the *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, animadverting on a controversy which has arisen between Dr. Petrie and Mr. Henry O'Neill as to the correct reading of the Irish inscription on the Cross of Cong, expressly denies the existence of such a name as *Dubdenit*. If *Dubdenit* cannot be a proper name, might it not be a complimentary *sobriquet?* We read in the *Forus Focail* that *diniat* signifies a "helmet;" a word of which *denit* may be the genitive case. *Dub-deniat* would therefore signify "black helmet:" and we know that in heroic times it was customary to give such appellations to warriors. Thus "William" signifies "gold helmet" as its German and French forms prove. (*Wilhelm* and *Guillaume.*) Is it impossible that an eminent warrior should be nick-named "Black Helmet?" Is it impossible that his descendant should inherit this *sobriquet*, and deem it honourable? Are not many patronymics extinct? Amadan.

In a note to *Davis's Diary* in your last Number [vol. 4, p. 84] it is conjectured that part of Schomberg's unfortunate army were buried in a field near Holywood. A mound in Lisburn churchyard, however, is still pointed out as having been raised over the bodies of a number of Schomberg's soldiers who perished during the pestilence which raged in his army.

In the same article [p. 80, note] allusion is made to King William having slept at Hillsborough Fort. The tradition of the neighbourhood says he also slept a night under a tree near Brookhill, about two miles from Lisburn.

Alpha.

QUERIES.

Could the word "Hibernia" derive from "Hyperborea?" Could "Hyperborea" itself be the modification of some old Celtic signifying "Northern Spain?" Amadan.

Among the parishes in the district of Mar, in Aberdeenshire, is one called *Kincardine O'Neill.* Can I learn, through your Journal, from what circumstance this name has arisen? Menea.

HOLYWOOD.—I observe in the Church of the "Maturins," of the Order of the Holy Trinity and Redemption of Captives, in the Rue St. Jacques, Paris, the tomb of *Joannes De Sancto Bosco*, an illustrious scholar and mathematician of the 13th century, author of a treatise *De Sphera Mundi*, translated into various languages. The epitaph is as follows:—

De Sacro Bosco. qui compotista Joannes
Tempora discrevit. jacet hic a tempore raptus;
Tempora qui sequeris memor esto quod morieris,
Si miseres, plora; miserans pro me. precor ora.

This Joannes De Sacro Bosco (John of the *Holy Wood*) is known to have been an Irishman. Did he take his name from *Holywood*, in the County of Down? AN IRISHMAN IN PARIS.

I find the following in a paper by John Windele, Esq., in the *Transactions of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society*, vol. 2, p. 235:—"In a rath near Drumbuoy, county of Derry, a *kist* was opened containing a skeleton, and with it the teeth of the fossil elk." Of course, the skeleton, here spoken of, was a human skeleton. Where can I get any particular account of this discovery? How were the teeth identified with those of the extinct animal? Do they appear to have been used as ornaments for the person? Was there any reason to infer the contemporaneous existence of the elk and the tenant of the tomb? SCRUTATOR.

ROUND TOWERS.—I would feel much obliged to any person who could add to my list of these buildings in Ulster; as I am anxious to enumerate all that now exist, or of which any traces remain. In addition to those already described, I have still unpublished Devenish, Armoy, Drumlane, Torry, Enniskillen, Raphoe,—the latter, like Downpatrick tower, removed within a short period.

Can any gentleman, connected with Donegal, say where *Braade* is, the site of a tower given in some lists. E. G.

What is the origin of the expression—"That will be after *Tib's eve*;" used to signify that a thing is not likely ever to happen? CURIOSUS.

Being engaged in a literary inquiry at present, I shall feel much obliged to any of your correspondents who will favour me with the names of the best works extant which treat of the origin and history of the *Scots* of Ireland and Scotland. Also for any sources of information regarding the McMornas and McGillemores, and ancient inhabitants of the district now called the county of Down.

I would venture to make another inquiry from some of your readers who are versed in the topography of ancient Ulster. The MS. "Book of Howth" says that Fin McCool's house in Ulster was called "Baragh Lis:"—where was this "Lis" situated? FITZHERBERT.

Was any of King William the Third's regiments quartered at Glenavy, (County Antrim)? The communion chalice of the church there bears this inscription:—"This Plate was given to ye Church of Glenavy by the Officers of the Queen's Regiment of Horse, commanded by ye Honble Major General Sr John Lanier, in the yeare 1690. In honorem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ." ALPHA.

It is a known fact that serpent-worship prevailed among the ancient Irish. Have we any record remaining in Ireland, monumental or otherwise, of this worship? We know that the use of living serpents formed part of the sacred machinery of the Druids, in their temple at Stonehenge, in England. This is distinctly mentioned in the ancient Welsh poem entitled *Marwiad Uthyr Pendragon*. Is it not highly probable that, from the vicinity of the two countries, a community of religious worship prevailed in early times? Many of our Irish legendary stories undoubtedly refer, though often obscurely, to remarkable real events in our national history. Is it not probable that the legend of St. Patrick banishing the serpents out of Ireland refers to the triumph of Christianity over Paganism, by the extermination of serpent-worship? ALPHA.

In Boate's *Ireland's Naturall History*, published in 1652, the following passage occurs:—"On the north side of the Bay of Knockfergus, somewhat near the sea, under a castle called *Mouse-hill*, is a sand-bay, where is good anchoring for all sorts of ships, as well great as small ones." What are the castle and sand-bay here alluded to? SENEX.

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

PASSAGE FROM GIL BLAS.—[Queries, vol. 4, p. 97.]—The question of SENEX may be answered by the statement of Mosheim, that the Irish were the originators of the Scholastic Philosophy. The following are his words:—"That the Hibernians, who were called Scots in the 8th century, were lovers of learning, and distinguished themselves in those times of ignorance by the culture of the sciences beyond all the other European nations, travelling through the most distant lands, both with a view to improve and to communicate their knowledge, is a fact with which I have been long acquainted; and we see them in the most authentic records of antiquity, discharging with the highest reputation and applause the functions of Doctor, in France, Germany, and Italy, both during this and the following century. But that these Hibernians were the first teachers of the Scholastic Philosophy, I learned but lately from the testimony of Benedict, Abbot of Aniane, in the province of Languedoc."—The Scholastic Philosophy was animated not only by a spirit of piety but by a belligerent spirit:—the fiery heart of the soldier palpitated beneath the robe of the professor. I do not know any recent work which gives a better idea of it than Mill's "*Logic*."—If we learn from the Scholastic Philosophy the *subjectivity* of the mediæval Irishman, perhaps we may obtain a glimpse of his *objectivity*, or external appearance, from the following passage in an Irish MS. preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy:—"Here she found a clever young man, with a head of black hair, flowing in ringlets; a sedate intelligent countenance; deeper than the rose was the bloom on his cheek * * * and he wore a four-cornered purple mantle, thrown carefully over his shoulders;" &c. C. M. O'KEEFFE.

Mr. Pinkerton [vol. 4, p. 22] mentions an old print in his possession representing an old castle near Lough Neagh, at the mouth of a river, with a tower and another edifice in view. In passing Maghery Ferry, at the mouth of the river Blackwater, I was struck with the appearance of a ruin, consisting of a single tall chimney, on the island of Derrywarragh, close to the shore at the east side of the river's mouth. The people of the place can give no account of it; when it was built, or what it belonged to: they only say it is a funnel with marks of smoke inside of it. I have not been on the island. Query—Was this the tower shown in Mr. Pinkerton's print? Was there, in old times, any castle to defend the entrance of the Blackwater? Is it known where Shane O'Neill's castle (which he called "Fnathna-Gall") was built; or can this chimney be a relic of it? TYRO.

HORSES PLOUGHING BY THE TAIL.—[Queries, vol. 3, p. 254.]—In the year 1606, an Act of Council was passed to prevent the barbarous mode of drawing ploughs and carriages by the tail. The penalty of the first year's offence was the forfeiture of one garron; for the second, two; and for the third, the whole team. In 1612, ten shillings were levied for every plough so drawn in Ulster. There were no less than 1,740 forfeitures, amounting to £870. See *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, v. 1. SENEX.

JOHN DE LOGAN.—[Queries, vol. 1, p. 230.]—It is evident, from the cases where mention of his name occurs, that John de Logan was one of the original English settlers of Ulster, who stood firm in his allegiance during Bruce's invasion; and the ravages committed in Belfast and the neighbourhood at the time were no doubt connected with that invasion. The surname Logan is still to be met with in the counties of Antrim and Down. H. P.

PERSECUTION OF THE WREN.—[Vol. 4, p. 98.]—In answer to H. P.'s query—"What reason can be given for the persecution of the wren in Ireland?" it may suffice to observe that the wren was a druidical bird, sacred to the rites which the druids solemnised in their groves. The bird which was an object of respect to the pagan

druids became almost inevitably an object of aversion to the Christian clergy; and the triumphant religion signalised its ascendancy by stoning the wren. It is a curious coincidence that the Irish stone this martyr-bird, the wren, on the anniversary of the day on which the Jews stoned St. Stephen: the bird is apparently a diminutive victim to the *odium theologicum*. The wren is called by its persecutors "the king of all birds." The phenomena connected with the movements and appearances of birds, so mysterious and unaccountable, in many cases, even to modern science, were objects of grave attention to the druids, who were eminent augurs, and divined the future from these circumstances. In effecting the destruction of "the king of all birds," the Christian priests probably gave a brain-blow to the superstitious science of augury; and accordingly the druid-bird is still relentlessly persecuted and destroyed. That the wren was an object of superstitious respect among the pagan Irish will, I think, be evident from the following passage, which I quote from the *Miscellany of the Irish Archæological Society*, vol. 2.—"It appears from the derivation of *Drean*, 'the wren,' given in *Cormac's Glossary*, that the Irish believed this bird to possess the power of foretelling future events; and there is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, [H. 3, 17,] a curious mode of interpreting the *notes* of the wren. * * The word *Drean* is thus derived in *Cormac's Glossary*: viz.—*Drean*, *draoi en*, i.e., *en do ni faistene*, i.e., *Drean*, a druid-bird, a bird that makes a prediction." Dr. O'Donovan goes on to quote a passage from a Latin life of St. Molaing, which refers to the wren:—"As the bishop was one day reading in sitting posture, attended by a servant, the bird which is named *magus avium*, because to certain individuals it furnishes auguries, came flying to him, and it had a living fly struggling and buzzing in its beak," &c.

Dublin. C. M. O'Keeffe.

Origin of the common imprecation "Bad Cess to ye."—(Vol. 4, p. 98.)—This imprecation may have originated in the vulgar saying, "Bad luck," or "Bad success to you," and may be merely an abbreviation of the latter, viz., of "cess" for "success." But I am of opinion that the term has been retained from the time of Elizabeth, when the Irish were aggrieved with cruel impositions, such as the *cessing* of soldiers on the country, which was severely felt by the people of Ireland. To use the words of Spenser:—"The soldiers themselves who, during their lying at cess, use all kind of outrageous disorder and villany, both towards the poor men which victual and lodge them, as also to all the country round about them, whom they abuse, oppress, spoyl, and afflict by all the means they can invent: for they will not only not content themselves with such victuals as their hosts, nor yet as the place perhaps affords, but they will have other meat provided for them, and *Aqua-vitæ* sent for, yea, and money besides laid at their trenchers; which if they want, then about the house they walk with the wretched poor man and his silly wife, who are glad to purchase their peace with any thing." [*State of Ireland.*]

The above relates merely to *cess*, but what then must *bad* cess be? The term *cess* was not used in England, but was peculiar to Ireland. The abolition of this pernicious usage was recommended by Spenser, whether imposed for the governor's housekeeping, or charged on the victualling of soldiers. John Bell.

Dungannon.

It is somewhat remarkable that H. P. [vol. 4, p. 100,] in alluding to the Plate of the Local Tokens of Belfast recently published in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, should bring forward as a new discovery respecting one of them,—namely that of Hugh Dnok (or Doake),—that the issuer, though at one time of his life Sovereign of the town, should have been unable to write his name. This circumstance was distinctly stated in the few explanatory words accompanying the plate to which H. P. refers. G. B.

THE ROUND TOWERS OF ULSTER.

(Continued from vol. 4, page 139.)

ARMOY TOWER, COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

"—— renown, and grace is dead;
The wine of life is drawn, and the mere lees
Is left this vault to brag of."—*Shakspeare.*

In the barony of Carey, County of Antrim, is situated the village of Armoy, once an important place in the ancient territory of Dalriada. The first entry respecting it, in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, records the fact of its being set on fire by Cumee O'Flynn in 1177, during an expedition of John De Courey. In 1217 it is again mentioned, casually, in connection with a predatory excursion made by Eachmarcach O'Kane, Lord of Kianaghta and Firnacreeva, into the territory of Manus O'Kane. The present name is contracted from the Irish Airthar-muighe (Arthermoy, the eastern plain). From Dr. Reeves, the great authority in such matters, and the notes to the *Four Masters*, the following particulars are collected:—In early times Dalriada was divided into sixteen *tuoghs* or districts, of which the *cynemond* of Armoy and Raghlins was one. The taxation in 1306 was—"The Church of Ethirmoy, £1 11s. 1d.; Tenth, 9s. 1½d." Its foundation, according to Dr. Reeves, was in A.D. 474. The Tripartite Life relates that St. Patrick, having baptised Olcan, on the subsequent evidence of his great advance in piety and learning, placed him as bishop over the church of Rath-mugia or Arthir-mugia, the chief town of the Dalredini. Jocelin and Ussher call this church Dercan. With this place is connected the curious legend respecting St. Patrick and Olcan the bishop, wherein the latter, having offended his master by receiving into communion Saran, a prince of Dalaradia, whom Patrick had excommunicated, showed his contrition by prostrating himself before the saint's chariot. The charioteer, on seeing this, pulled up, but was ordered to

proceed on his course; this he declined doing; and the matter ended by the prophecy that the church of Armoy should be three times destroyed and polluted with blood in punishment of Olcan's fault.[a] Here, at a very early period, there is a record of the existence of a water-mill, found in the "Inquisitio post-mortem" of the property of William de Burgo, Earl of Ulster—such a mill, probably, as is described in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. 4, p. 6. By King James the First's charter this church was appropriated to the archdeaconry of Connor. Dr. O'Conor mentions, on the authority of a MS. of the fourteenth century, in the Stowe Library, Armoy as one of twenty-one ancient monasteries which had schools of instruction attached to them. The present church, Dr. Reeves states, stands on the old foundation, but is not so long as the original. Near it, and surrounded by graves, stands what remains of the Round Tower, which was carefully explored by the writer on the 21st and 22d September, 1843. The other parties present were the Rev. Mr. Harvey and his son, of Turnarobert; Mr. Arthur McGee, of Ballyeastle; and, on the second day, Mr. T. M. Birnie, of Carrickfergus; and Mr. Edward Benn, of Glenravel.

What remains of the tower has been fitted up as a belfry, by putting a wooden roof on the walls, of which about forty feet are still standing. The door, the only opening, is on the south side, and measures one foot seven inches wide, and five feet nine inches in height. From it to the floor was eight feet six inches; but now, to the level of the burying-ground, is only five feet four inches. The walls are of mica slate; and during the excavation a part of the original roof was discovered, formed on the same plan precisely as the stone preserved at Antrim, and already described in the notices of the tower there. The door is semicircular-headed, the arch being cut out of one block, and ornamented by an architrave also cut on the same lintel stone. It follows the curve of the arch, and it is probable that originally the sides of the door-way exhibited a continuation of the same projection. They, however, have been repaired at some period. There is no appearance of cross or other decoration. A view of this tower, given in the *Irish Penny Magazine*, is incorrect, for it shows an ornament over the door that does not exist. The wall of the building is three feet five inches thick. The interior diameter is eight feet two inches, and it does not seem to vary in this dimension. At the door there is a projection of the walls for the support of a floor, and another about ten feet higher up. As the tower had been cleared out several times by persons anxious to procure the droppings of pigeons, which build in the roof, it did not promise any very important result; but the inquiry was fortunately proceeded with.

In the course of the excavation only loose *debris*, with small portions of wood and stone, and jaws of animals, were thrown out for several feet; but at length a skull and other human remains were found, packed up against the wall on the north side. These were evidently in the same position as at first placed. Portions of horn were also found, and remains of the fallen part of the

[a] Colgan Vit. Trip. p. 47.

tower. Anything observed hitherto was considered of little importance, as all to this depth may have been disturbed at some period posterior to the erection of the building. The skull, nevertheless, had an appearance of considerable antiquity. When the search was continued to a further depth of some feet, another skull was found, imbedded like a fossil, lying on the south-east side of the line of the entrance, but without any other bones of the skeleton with it. This skull lay with the upper part towards the centre of the tower, and the lower jaw towards the wall. The material it was imbedded in was stiff clay; and there was this peculiarity attending it, that it was contained in a hollow space in the wall, which appeared to have been constructed to contain it, in the manner of a rude niche. Mr. Benn and Mr. Birnie, with the writer, examined it *in situ*, and were all equally struck by the fossil-like appearance it presented—an appearance previously observed in similar instances. It is an interesting circumstance to notice, that the three upper cervical vertebræ were found in connexion with this skull, or *in situ* as respects the cranium, and no other bones were found in the same place that seemed to be parts of the same body. The inference drawn by the parties present was, that the head buried here had been, when in a recent state, severed from the trunk. The under jaw and vertebræ were nearly in the same horizontal line;—in fact just so much of the vertebral column remained as must have been removed with the head if taken off while the muscles and integuments were recent.

This relic was obtained, fortunately, in a nearly perfect state. In the place where it lay a fire had been burned, and it had been deposited on a bed of peat ashes and charcoal before being covered with the clay. Several pins, formed of deers' antlers, were found: they seemed to have been used by the builders in setting out their work. A portion of a line, made of twisted hair, was also discovered, and a piece of sand-stone, most probably used for whetting the workers' tools.

The discovery of a head so distinctly interred separate from the body gives more than usual interest to the skull exhumed from this tower. That such a practice was not without precedent with the ancient Irish is proved by several facts. For instance, in the case of the skulls found in an ancient burial-ground near the Giant's Ring, so accurately detailed in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. 3, p. 360, and in several instances recorded by the *Four Masters*.

Age of Christ, 558. After that Dermot, son of Fergus Cerrbeoll, had been twenty years King of Ireland, he was slain by Aodh Dubh, son of Suibhne, King of Dalaradia, of Rathbeg, in Moy-line. *His head* was conveyed to Clonmacnois, and his body was buried at Connor.

The Editor of the *Four Masters*, in a note on the name Kinnity, says "Cenneitigh, i.e. the head of Etech, so called according to a note in the *Felire Aenguis*, at the 7th of April, from Etech, an ancient Irish heroine, *whose head* was interred here."

Under the year 1132, the following entry occurs:—"Great and frequent depredations were committed by Manus Mac Mahon upon the English, many of whom he slew; and he placed their heads upon the stakes of the garden of Baile-na-Lurgan, Mac Mahon's own mansion seat, hideous and horrible spectacles to the beholders." This statement is also confirmed, according to Dr. O'Donovan's note, by the Dublin copy of the *Annals of Ulster*.

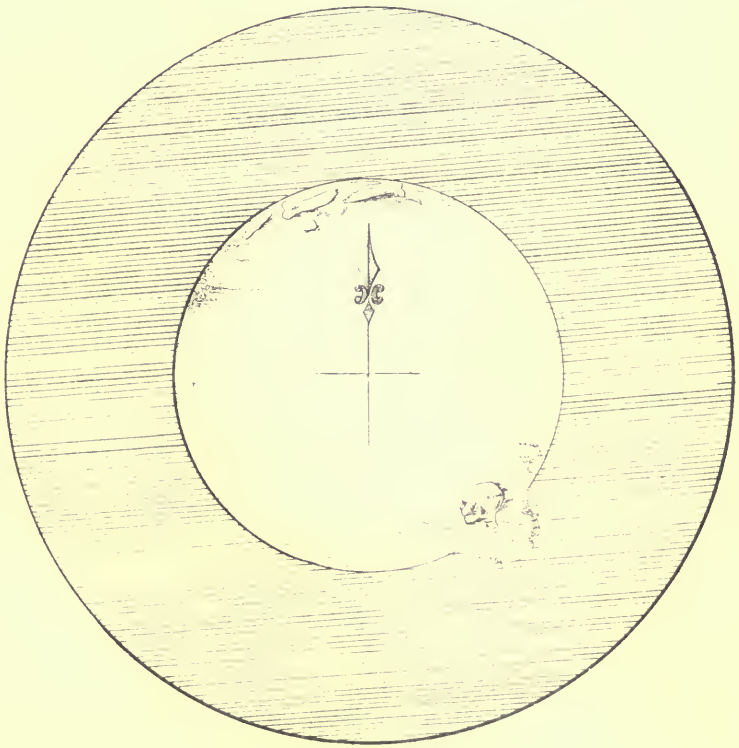
1547. The *Annals of Ulster*, at this date, record an incursion made by O'Rourke into Maguire's country, when the heads of sixteen leaders of the former party were cut off and affixed on Maguire's mansion.

Under the year 1556 mention is made of a Mac William, called Ulick na-geeann; with this note, "Ulick of the heads, so called from the many heads of enemies which he had cut off."

Under the year 1608. Dr. O'Donovan, in his edition of the *Four Masters*, gives some notices of the different branches and individuals of the Maguire family:—one, named Cuconnaught More, was killed at the pass of Aughrim [*temp.* James II.] "He was struck down by a grape-shot, and left dead on the field; but one of his followers named O'Durnan, is said to have cut off his head with his sword, and to have carried it in a bag to the island of Devenish, where he interred it in the family tomb of the Maguires." Mr. Bryan Maguire, of Tempo, believed that a descendant of this man resided in Dublin in 1811.

The entire excavation extended to a depth of eleven feet from the sill of the door.

The accompanying diagram is intended to show the relative position of the several remains found in this tower.



Scale 1 in to a foot

The circumstances of this skull differ from any discovered during the various explorations now recorded, in the fact of the three upper cervical vertebræ remaining in connection with it; leading to the conclusion that the head must have been severed from the trunk before the decomposition of the body had proceeded far. This circumstance struck all the parties at the time, and has since led to the conclusion that the cranium found had been separated from the body in a recent state. Mr. Grattan in his notices of the skulls found in Round Towers will discuss this matter; Mr. Benn, in a communication dated Glenravel, 25th September, 1843, thus refers to it:—

"From what I saw, I think your theory of these skulls having been taken from other places and put under the tower cannot be supported; I did not see the conclusion of the matter, but as I understand, these are the facts:—the skull was found close into the wall, two joints of the neck were found attached; these neck-bones were turned to the wall; the skeleton was not found; remains of the hair were found; the under jaw was found in its place quite entire. If these are the facts, it is plain that this was the head of a person who had been decapitated, but whether before or after death could not be ascertained. You should examine the neck-bones very closely to see if any marks of a cutting instrument are to be seen; it is quite evident that the circumstances under which this skull was found, could only be accounted for by supposing a human head to have been placed there, and not a skull which had been buried elsewhere previously."

Mr. Benn seems to allude in his note to the writer's remarks on the peculiar mode of burial observed at Clones, which were not intended to be produced as a theory on the uses of Round Towers. In like manner, the extracts given from the *Four Masters* are not introduced to support a supposition that the heads of enemies cut off in war amongst rude tribes were interred in Round Towers, but to show that decapitation was not uncommon. If an inference can be drawn, it seems to be that, in some cases, the heads of great leaders were recovered by their friends, and honoured by a careful burial.

DEVENISH TOWER, COUNTY FERMANAGH.

"I've wandered through the wrecks of days departed,
Far by the desolated shore."—*Shelley.*

HE island of Devenish, in Lough Erne, about two miles below Enniskillen, like many other retired spots in the country, is rich in ecclesiastical remains. Its tower was explored by Mr. Grattan, Mr. J. W. Murphy, and the writer, on the 27th of May, 1844;—permission to do so, as well as excavate within the ruins of a stone roofed chapel in its vicinity, having been granted by Paul Dane, Esq., through the polite attention of Lord Enniskillen, at the request of the late Mr. William Thompson, who has been already mentioned as taking an active part in the examination of Drumbo.

In navigating the narrow strait forming the junction of upper and lower Lough Erne, the cot (so the boat in use here is named) passes under Portora hill, at whose base, a short distance from the water, are seen the remains of the ancient castle of "The Maguire." Beyond this point the lake becomes wider, and the tower of Devenish, one of the most perfect works of the kind, is discovered, standing like a giant in the midst of ruins. The island contains upwards of seventy acres; and like most others in this beautiful lake, rises gradually from the water, in the form of a low hill covered with rich herbage, which affords, and as its name denotes—for the term Daimh-inis (now pronounced Devenish) signifies Ox-island—seems always to have afforded, pasturage to large herds of cattle.[a]

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[a] "In a life of St. Aedan, quoted by Ussher (Primord., p. 962), the name of this island is translated *Boris Insula*, and in a life of St. Aedus *Borium insula*."—"Devenish, daimh inis, i.e., the ox-island or *bovis insula*, as it is translated in the life of St. Moidoc. It is situated in Lough Erne, near Enniskillen, in the county of Fermanagh. Laisrean, or Molaisse, the patron saint of this island, flourished in the 6th century; having died, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, in the year 563, but according to the *Annals of Ulster*, in the year 570. The ruins of an ancient church and of an abbey of the 15th century, and a beautiful Round Tower in good preservation, are still to be seen on this island."—*Dr. O'Donovan.*

Besides the tower and the stone-roofed chapel already mentioned as in ruins, called Saint Molaissi's house, there are remains here of an abbey, a church, and a monastery. By means of the several illustrations given it is proposed to show the position of the ecclesiastical buildings that existed on this island. The accompanying drawing, copied from Ledwich, proves that about the year 1792 two buildings, now in the last stage of dilapidation, were nearly perfect—the ancient church seen in the fore

ground, and the stone-roofed chapel. The stone-roofed chapel is most probably the oldest building here: then the tower. The church and monastery adjoined one another, and now present little more than a heap of ruins surrounded by an ancient burying-ground. In 1806 Sir Richard Colt Hoare thus describes the church:—"The eastern window is divided into three narrow compartments, with lancet heads, and banded on the inside." The initial letter of the present paper shows what now remains of that building. A writer in the *Belfast Magazine*, 1825, says—"part of the east window of the church still remains, but in a very dilapidated state. A great part of the walls seemed to have but lately fallen, which induced us to inquire of our boatman what had thrown them down, when, to our astonishment, we learned that these interesting remains, which had braved the effects of time for so many centuries, had been destroyed, in this age of boasted civilisation, for the purpose of procuring the stone frames of the windows and other ornamental parts, for the decoration of houses in Enniskillen."

The abbey is the finest ruin on the island, and indicates an advanced state of the arts at the period of its erection. If a stone built into one of its walls refers to this building, Mathew O'Dubegan

erected it in 1449, when Bartholomew O'Flannigan was Prior. Although this inscribed stone is built into the abbey, it may, however, have been removed from the ruins of the old church, and placed where it is now seen with a view to its preservation. The material differs from that used in other parts of the building; but it is right to state that Sir R. C. Hoare describes it as being near the east window in 1806. "This church," the same writer observes, "which is the most easterly building, was large and beautiful, with a noble carved window over the high altar." It is built of a very compact limestone, (perhaps black marble is the proper expression,) a material not used in any other building here. Some parts of it, particularly the transept and square tower by which it is surmounted, are still in good preservation. On passing through its fine arch, a visitor is struck by the sharpness of the lines of the work, which are so highly polished and so perfect as to seem fresh from the workman's chisel. On the northern side a small pointed doorway leads to a winding stair communicating with the square tower, in which a bell or bells had been placed; and the apertures still remain in the groined floor of the upper compartment, through which the ropes had passed. This fact is interesting in connection with the uses of the Round Towers; for it seems unlikely that the Cloigtheach was a belfry in the usual sense of the term, standing close to this abbey, and at the same time that bells were also placed in the latter building. It may, indeed, be said that the buildings belonged to distinct religious bodies; but it seems more probable that the tower, as an ecclesiastical building—for that it was such Dr. Petrie in the writer's estimation has proved—was used as a place of safe deposit for the church furniture, including the altar bells, rather than as a place in the summit of which a bell was suspended. Sir R. C. Hoare says:—"The little pointed doorway leading up to the tower, deserves notice, from being excellently well fluted in its angles, and finished the same way at bottom as at top; a peculiarity I do not recollect ever to have seen before, and producing a light and elegant effect."

This island was the scene of a curious interlude mentioned by Sir John Davis, when he, as Attorney-General, held the first assizes for Fermanagh in 1607. It was on the occasion of an inquiry respecting some property of the Maguire Family. The jury, who sat in the old abbey, "referred themselves to an old parchment roll remaining in the hands of one O'Brislon, a chronicler and principal Brehon of that country; whereupon O'Brislon was sent for, but was so aged and decrepid as he was scarce able to repair unto us. When he was come, we demanded of him a sight of the ancient roll. The old man, seeming to be much troubled with this demand, made answer that he had such a roll in his keeping before the war, but that it was burned, among other of his papers and books, by certain English soldiers. We were told by some that were present that this was not true. Thereupon my Lord Chancellor did minister an oath unto him, and gave him a very serious charge to inform us truly what was become of that roll. The poor old man, fetching a deep sigh, confessed that he knew where the roll was, but that it was dearer to him than his life, and therefore he would never deliver it out of his hands, unless my Lord Chancellor would take the like oath that the roll

should be restored to him again. My Lord Chancellor, smilingly, gave him his word and his hand that he should have the roll re-delivered to him if he would suffer us to take a view and a copy thereof. And thereupon the old Brehon drew the roll out of his bosom, where he did continually bear it about him. It was not very large, but it was written on both sides in fair Irish character."

In the Fermanagh Inquisition, held 18th September, 1609, some particulars are found respecting this island and its ecclesiastical condition. "The Bishop, say the jurors, receives out of the *herenagh* lands of Devenish, conteyninge in all fower quarters of the newe measure, of which soe much as lay in the iland Devenish (except Rossimartina, conteyninge a fourth part of a tate) is free, and belonged to *the corbe, or chiefe herenagh* of that place, fower markes per annum, makinge as before, and eight night's cosherie in his visitacion as before, and not else, and three score sroaghans of oate bread and a beofe per annum, or tenne shillings in liewe of the said bread, and a noble per annum in liewe of the said beofe, and that there are *three herenaghs* of the said land." According to the same authority, the parish church of Devenish stood on the island: there was both a parson and vicar, collative. The tithes were paid in kind—one-fourth to the bishop of Clogher, another fourth to the vicar, and the moiety to the parson, who paid one-third of the church repairs and the vicar another third. "Having made mention of eight tates of land on the south side of Lough Erne, all of which they observe together with the tithes thereof belonge to the late dissolved abbey or house of Channons of Devenish, the jurors report further that the said abbey, or house of Chanons of Devenishe, with one orchard or moore thereunto belonginge, are scituate and being in the iland of Devenish, and that out of the said abbey the said bushopp of Clogher had yerelie a refeccion for a daie, or tenn shillinges in lieve thereof in his visitation, and not else, but not to staie all night: and they alsoe saie uppon their oathes, that the late priorie or house of secular priests of C[illegible] (Culdees) with an orchard thereunto belonginge, is likewise scituate in the said iland of Devenish, and that to the said late priorie doe belonge four tates of land of the ould measure, with the tithes thereof, in the [illegible] [illegible]."[b]

The following notice was pointed out to the writer by Mr. R. MacAdam, in an ancient Icelandic [illegible] quoted by Johnstone, as probably referring to Devenish. It is found in the *K[illegible] Skuggsi* (Speculum Regale). It is here given in the Latin translation which accompanies the original Icelandic:—"[illegible] in stagno, cujus [illegible] antea injecimus, Locherne dicto, insularum est una [illegible] vocata, ubi [illegible]torum [illegible] D[illegible] templum, ubi permaneret, habuit. [illegible] verum templum, et [illegible] adjectum [illegible]terium, [illegible] creaturae femineae fas erat ingredi, a quo et sibi cavere [illegible] aves et id genus reliqua. [illegible] poterant; nec [illegible] est, quae audeat ingredi, vel possit, etsi tentet, templum hocce [illegible] sexus creatura."[a]

[illegible] R. King [illegible] [illegible] (ex variis librariorum conjecturis.)

[illegible] Dr. Reeves says he can find no name resembling [illegible] [illegible] or any likely form of twisting [illegible] the [illegible] in the Icelandic [illegible].

The following varieties [illegible] of [illegible] the [illegible] are [illegible] Inisdeclan, Inisclothran, Inisi[illegible], Inis[illegible], Inisdalran, [illegible], [illegible], Inis[illegible], Misd[illegible], [illegible]

"In the lake of which mention has already been made, named Lough Erne, one of the islands is called Misdredan, (Inisdredan?) where a saint, a certain Dermot, had a temple in which he abided continually. No female was permitted to enter this temple or the cemetery adjoining. Other animals, birds, and such like, devoid of human reason, were able instinctively to avoid this place. Nor, indeed, is there any creature of the weaker sex which dares, or could, if it attempted, enter this temple."

Dr. Reeves, to whom the writer submitted the above notice, has made the following observations on the subject:—

"There is an island of Loch Erne, the only one I have ever met with whose name at all approached in form to Inisdredan (for that evidently is the word intended), called Inis-Inesclaind, where was once a cell of which Fergus, commemorated at Nov. 10, was patron saint. But either of him or of his island there is no further notice. I have come to the conclusion that *Logherne* is an error, and *Loch-Ribh* in the Shannon is the true place, and for the following reason:—St. Diarmait, of Jan. 10, is the patron of Inis-Clothrann, in Loch-Ribh, now called Iniscloghran,[e] or Quaker Island. Colgan has collected all that he could find about him, at Jan. 10, but he has nothing to show that this Diarmait had any connection with the Norse legend.—However, in looking over the *Index Sanctorum* in *O'Clery's Calendar* of *Donegall, voce* Diarmait, I have found the following insertion, which almost settles the question:—

[f] "'*Diarmit epscop Insi Clothrann* [*for Loch Ribh i cCuircne, acas ni thaghuill bean no leanobh og mna a reileg. Do sharuigh bean eirecech Shaxonach sin goirid o shoin acas teasda go grod. Inis Diarmada ainm na hinnsi go niomad regles 7 mainistir.*]

"'Diarmait, bishop of Innis Clothrann. [On Logh Ribh in Cuircne (now Kilkenny West, in Westmeath), and no woman or female child resorted to his cemetery. An English heretic woman, a short time ago, infringed this, and she quickly died. Inis Diarmada is the name of the island, and it has several cemeteries and monasteries."]

The following notices of Devenish are extracted from the *Annals of the Four Masters*, edited by Dr. O'Donovan, and the *Annals of Ulster*, published by Dr. Reeves in connection with the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*.

The age of Christ, 563, Saint Molaisi, abbot of Daimhinis, died, on the 12th September.

The age of Christ, 1259, Hugh O'Conor and Brian O'Neill held a conference at Devenish, in Lough Erne.

The age of Christ, 1450, Nicholas O'Flanagan, parson of Devenish, died at Rome, whither he had gone on a pilgrimage.

The age of Christ, 1462, the prior of Devenish, i.e. Bartholomew, the son of Hugh O'Flanagan, died, on Lough

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[e] Iniscloghran.—The island of Clothra. Dr. O'Donovan, *Four Masters*, An 1193, says:—"This Clothra is said to have been the sister of the famous Meadhbh or Meave, Queen of Connaught. The island lies in Lough Ree, near St. John's, and is now sometimes called by the people of the counties of Longford and Roscommon, dwelling in its vicinity, the Seven Church Island, from the ruins of seven old churches still to be seen on it; and sometimes [illegible] cupier. These churches, to one of which is attached an old belfry, called in Irish *Clogas*, are said to have been erected by Saint Dermot in the sixth century; but some of them were re-edificed." Many memorials of Meave are still found here."

[f] Saint Diarmait flourished in the early part of the sixth century, Anno. 540; Colgan's notice of him in [illegible] is at p. 51.

Derg. This was the prior who repaired or re-built the great abbey church at Devenish, as appears from an inscription on a stone in the wall.

The age of Christ, 1479, Piarus, the son of Nicholas O'Flanagan, who had been a canón chorister at Clogher, a parson and prior of Culdees, a sacristan at Devenish, an official on Lough Erne, a charitable, pious, truly hospitable, and humane man, died, after having gained the victory over the Devil and the world.

The year of Christ, 1505, Laurence O'Flanagan, prior of Devenish, died.

According to the catalogue of Irish saints published by Archbishop Ussher, taken from the ancient authorities, these holy men are divided into three orders,—the first "most holy," the second "very holy," the third "holy." The first was confined to contemporaries of Patrick. In the second is found the name of Laisrean. "There were three famous saints of this name who generally appear in Irish hagiology, with the prefix *Mo*, in the form *Molassi*." The one, however, to whom it is at present desirable to refer is Molaissi, son of Nadfraich, whose festival is the 12th September.—"He was of the race of Irial, son of Connal Cearnaigh, and seventh in descent from Crunn Badhraighe, son of Eochaidh Cobha, son of Fiacha Araidhe."[s]

Like Columba, and many others of the illustrious men by whom Christianity was extended over Ireland and firmly fixed in the minds of the people, Molaissi was a man of high birth, and his name is found associated with that of the Abbot of Iona. Indeed, according to a statement made, the principal cause of that remarkable man leaving his native country after the battle of Cuildreimne, (which tradition states was caused by a dispute between the saint and King Diarmait,) was the decision of Saint Molaissi —"that Columba should spend the rest of his life an exile on a foreign soil, where he should attach more persons to Christ than had fallen in the war." This is, however, not the place to introduce a biography of the illustrious founder of the religious establishments at Devenish. The life of St. Aedan has the following notice of Saint Molaissi :—

"Beatissimus Lasreanus ad aquilonalem partem Hiberniæ exivit, et construxit clarissimum monasterium in Stagno *Herne*, nomine Daimh-inis, qui sonat Latine, Bovis insula." And the Life of Saint Aedus :—"Regebat plures monachos in insula posita in stagno *Erne*, quam Scoti nominant Daimhinis i.e. Boviam insulam."[u]

The death of this saint is entered twice in the *Annals of Ulster*, first under the year 563 (ær. com. 564) and again 570. The *Four Masters* record it at 12th Sept. 1853. Any of these dates carries back the history to a very early period, and his name is still found associated with the most ancient ruin on the island, which is always mentioned as Saint Molaissi's house. A stone coffin also, now exposed in the neighbourhood of the tower, is called his bed: by the superstitious it is believed that any one who can lie within it will be cured of rheumatism and similar complaints. Sir R. C. Hoare

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Dr. Reeves, *Annals of Ulster*, p. 28.

Blessed Laserian retired to the North of Ireland and erected a very celebrated monastery in Lough Erne called Devenish, meaning in Latin [illegible] (Ox-island.) He ruled many monks in an island in Lough Erne called by the Scots Devenish, that is, "the island of the Ox."

says—"And the vulgar tradition is, that many people have endeavoured to fit their shapes to it, but have not succeeded."[i]

In the burying-ground near the abbey the base of a cross remains; but the other parts have been destroyed before the time of any one now living. There is also, not far from the abbey and tower, a well dedicated to Saint Nicholas; but this is nearly filled up.[j]

Having given the foregoing details, it is proposed, in the remaining portion of this paper, to describe the tower, and mention the excavations made within it and at the stone-roofed chapel.

The tower is still perfect; for its integrity has been carefully attended to even in the midst of the wilful devastation of the other buildings. Sir R. C. Hoare, in 1806, had noticed the possibility of injury to the top from the elder trees that had rooted in the crevices of the roof; and the writer already alluded to, in the *Belfast Magazine*, had called attention to the same facts. These plants were removed, soon after the last mentioned reference, by Mr. O'Beirne, a son of the learned master of Portora school, at some personal risk; but at a later period, the trees having again shot up, the dreaded catastrophe did take place, and a large portion of the conical top and cornice fell to the ground. A sufficient sum having been at once subscribed, a perfect restoration, stone by stone almost, was made; and Devenish remains as perfect as at first, the pride of Fermanagh in its unequalled beauty;—unequalled in Ulster at least, for it is superior to any in the province, both as regards the character of its decorations and the style of its architecture. It is said to be eighty-two feet in height and forty nine in circumference. The elaborate cornice immediately below the roof, which distinguishes this from all similar buildings, is figured by Dr. Petrie, Mrs. Hall, and others, from drawings furnished by Captain Stothard taken during the Ordnance Survey. It evinces the care and expense lavished on the erection; and the four heads, which surmount the windows next the roof, exhibit an advanced knowledge of the sculptor's art. The masonry of the entire building is excellent; and it may be further remarked that the stones employed, though dressed, are not laid in regular courses; but in such a manner as best suited the builder's convenience. Thus in some places, one large mass occupies so great a space that two or three courses of stones, of the ordinary size, have been used before the whole was brought to a level; and in some other instances, when a vacancy occurs in a course, the use of a small stone is obviated by a block in the next being so dressed as to key into the space below. A similar mode of proceeding was afterwards remarked in Drumlane Tower.

The entrance is by a door, at about nine feet from the ground. The projections remain which had supported the floors; and, besides the four windows usually found near the top of such buildings, there

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[i] Besides its patron Saint Molaisi, the other saints commemorated there were Osnat, 6th January; Naile, 7th January; Siollan, 17th May.

[j] In a note under the year 1439, Dr. O'Donovan informs us that Mr. Meehin, who still possesses the Termlands of Ballagh (in the parish of Rossinver, in the north of the county Leitrim) now known as Ballagh-meehin, of which one of his family was the ancient Coarb, is in possession of a curious relic consisting of a brass box, in which it is said St. Molaissi's gospel was preserved. This box exhibits a curious Irish inscription, containing the name of the artist and person for whom it was made.

are two others at different heights; one of these, which the builder considered should appear as an angular headed opening on the exterior, is quadrangular within. Dr. Petrie, in his work on Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture,[k] directed attention to the fact that "in many of the apertures, which exhibit semicircular and angular heads, these forms are only external, and their internal construction preserves the quadrangular form, by a lintel more or less recessed, which rests upon the jambs." In illustration, the learned author gives wood-cuts of such openings in the towers of Cashel and of Dysert, which exactly correspond with those observed at Devenish. This peculiarity seems deserving of more notice than it has received from inquirers, as it argues some architectural rule strictly observed, both as regards the form of the opening and its position in the building:—for, if the form had been arbitrary, the square-headed would have been chosen; and if position had depended only on convenience for admitting light, it would have been placed a few feet lower on the building, by which the necessity of blocking up a part of a window of very small dimensions, intended to light one of the stories into which the interior was divided, would have been obviated. It seems probable, in the present instance, that the blocking up of a part of the opening was to exclude from the view of persons without some part of a floor or stair that crossed this part of the building: or we may perhaps go a step further and infer that the stair was spiral, and that the architect, calculating from its point of commencement, foresaw that it would of necessity cover this part of the window, and be an unseemly object from without: still it is difficult to understand why the openings were so spaced as to require this provision. The roof of this tower has been constructed with great skill; its apex is formed of one large stone cut into the form of a bell. As much care seems to have been taken in finishing the interior of the whole tower as the exterior; and Archdall does not err in comparing its appearance to that of a smooth gun barrel.

The excavation made within this building was conducted with the same care used in those previously examined; but no remains of any kind were found to elucidate the former investigations. It is therefore only needful to note the negative facts, that after the removal of a large quantity of accumulated material, a lime floor was discovered on a level with the second off-set of the base; that after sinking somewhat deeper, a second lime floor was uncovered, beyond which the examination was continued to the foundation; no remains of any kind, with the exception of a boar's tusk, being thrown out.

During the investigation at the tower, a similar proceeding was going forward at the ruins of the stone-roofed chapel already alluded to more than once in this notice of Devenish. In Dr. Ledwich's *Antiquities*, and in the plate published in Gough's *Camden*, this building is represented as perfect: but its dilapidation had commenced in 1806, when Sir R. C. Hoare only speaks of fragments. "It has," he adds, "a small round-headed entrance-door towards the west. This [illegible] the original chapel, and perhaps the habitation of the saint who first sought retirement in this island. A little to the [illegible] ruins is a stone coffin on the ground, said to have

[illegible] Academy, vol. xx., p. [illegible]

been the saint's grave." In 1824, when the writer first visited the island, important portions of Saint Molaissi's house were still standing; and in a drawing made at that time by a French gentleman, Mr. Besaucele, teacher of drawing in the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, the very curiously shaped arch that supported the roof is shown. According to the statements then made by the boatmen and others, the injury to this interesting structure had been occasioned by persons from Enniskillen stripping it of the few large flags which formed the roof.

Saint Molaissi's house was a very small rectangular building, having an entrance, as already mentioned, in the west end. It had been erected with a view to great durability; and very large blocks of stone, carefully shaped so as to fit on one another without any filling up or spawling, had been employed: even in forming the arched roof the same ponderous materials had been used. It is further to be noticed that proofs still remained of the arch having been turned on a centering of basket work or wattles. Mr. Murphy suggested that so heavy an arch could only have been formed by filling up the internal space with clay shaped to the requisite curve, and then covered with the basket work and concrete, of which the remains were still observable in the *débris* thrown out. This, when the work was believed to be sufficiently consolidated, he supposed to have been gradually withdrawn. The roof stones were coated inside by a kind of tufa, caused by water having percolated through the arch. This building stood east by north, and was precisely parallel with the old monastic church. The examination of it, though attended with considerable labour and difficulty, was not without result. As, however, this interesting monument had sunk under its own weight, after the removal of the large flags which formed the exterior of its roof and fitted it to endure, for ages, the ravages of all save the hand of man, its interior was nearly filled by the massive stones which formed the arched roof. The explorers paused in their labour to admire the industry of those who, in the supposed infancy of the builder's art, had constructed this ponderous piece of masonry; for nothing but the immense thickness of the walls could have enabled them, without buttresses, to bear the heavy roof, whose lateral pressure must have been very great.

The view of the tower here given shows the stone-roofed chapel as it appeared at the period of the writer's first visit; but now its ruins can be traced with difficulty. It is not improbable that the form of arch represented had been caused by the whole building having sunk and warped on the removal of the centering at the time of its construction. The interior arch supported a high pitched stone-roof of flags, as already mentioned.[1]

As it would have been a work requiring a considerable time to remove all the great stones which now filled the original ground plot of this chapel, it was found necessary to confine the exploration to the west; and only to that part opposite to the entrance, on which side of the building it is supposed, or stated by some writer, that the stone coffin of Saint Molaissi at one time stood. The

[1] Lewis, who is generally accurate, gives the following measurements of the buildings on Devenish. The lower church 76 feet by 24 feet, with a large aisle on the north; —St. Molaissi's house 30 by 18 feet; abbey church 94 by 24 feet, with a large aisle northward; —Tower 82 feet high, and 15 feet in circumference. —

ground on this side having been opened along the wall, some human bones were discovered, and a detached skull deposited in the south-eastern corner. The inquiry was pushed further, but no other discovery was made. It seemed, however, probable that all the remains found formed part of the same body originally.

The following conjectures, formed at the moment, have been rather strengthened by farther consideration. There seems little doubt that this remarkable cell or chapel has been always associated with the name of one of the ancient Irish saints; nor is it improbable that after his death it was the sanctuary wherein his stone coffin stood: for it is not likely that in an age when his memory was fresh, his body would have been laid in the exposed position where this curious relic was now observed.[m] It is more probable that in a subsequent age the cell was opened, and the stone coffin discovered and desecrated by persons who found it their interest to turn it to profitable account, but who had sufficient reverence for the dead, and of superstition, to cause them to inter the remains found within it inside the chapel itself. The coffin, removed to the exterior, became the saint's bed, in which he was reputed to have rested during his life of strict penance, and which was held to be most efficacious in the cure of all the disorders man is heir to. The lid of this coffin had been, purposely perhaps, removed from it; but the writer, after diligent search, had the good fortune to find it placed as a headstone in the cemetery near the abbey. A full length figure could still be traced sculptured in very low relief on its surface. It seems therefore not improbable that the remains were truly those of the saint; and on examining the skull it was evident that the individual had been partially deformed, perhaps wry-necked: the writer, therefore, concluded that this deformity might lead to a circumstantial identification; and he, in consequence, inquired of those friends who had distinguished themselves by their researches into ancient manuscripts, whether any reference was found in the lives of Saint Molaissi to his personal appearance. The only response to the inquiry was from Mr. Eugene Curry, who some time afterwards, on meeting the writer in Dublin, mentioned that in one life of this saint he had met a statement which seemed to him to bear upon the point in question. Mr. Curry at the time repeated the general statement he referred to, and at a future day made a written communication, which seems too valuable, coming from so high an authority, to be omitted or abridged. It is here given *in ipsissimis verbis*. It will be seen that Mr. Curry does not pretend to consider the statement as more than a legend; but the legend may have been invented to account for an actual fact. With this explanation, the reader must be allowed to draw his own conclusion as to the identity of the remains with those of the saint in question; for it is only an inference from the legend to suppose that retarded parturition caused deformity.

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[m] Seward, *Topographia Hibernica*, published in 1795, says, speaking of Saint Molaissi in connection with Devenish—"And here are his relics contained in a vaulted building of hewn stone, called St. Molaisi's house. Dr. Ledwich says—"The oldest erections here are St. Molaisi's house and a fine round tower. The former contains the reliques of St. Laserian or Molaise. Saint Molaise's house is a vaulted building of hewn stone; it and the round tower have every appearance of being built by the same architects." Dr. Ledwich considers all similar buildings as erected for the purpose of containing the reliques of saints.

"11, *Judd-Street, London, 23rd September*, 1855.

"DEAR SIR,—I recollect that some time ago you mentioned to me in Dublin that you had procured from *Damh-Inis* (Devenish Island), a human skull, which you had reason to believe was the skull of Saint Molaise, the patron of that island. You remarked to me, at the same time, that the skull had some peculiarity—the precise nature of which I now forget—from which you had inferred that the head, when living, must have been awry, or inclined to one side of the neck. With the recollection of this curious fact on my mind, I, as soon as time would permit me, on my arrival here in April last, looked into an ancient Irish Life, on vellum, of Saint Molaise of Devenish, preserved in the British Museum; and it gives me much pleasure to send you, shortly, the result of my examination, which, if it does not clearly establish the identity of the Saint's skull, will certainly, in my mind, go very far to do so.

"In every case of forcibly procrastinated birth that I have met with in ancient Irish manuscripts, the subjects retained, for ever after, the mark of the unnatural procedure: as in the case of Conall Cearnach, the great Ulster champion; Fiacha Muilleathan, or Fiacha the broad-pated, King of Munster; Tuathal Maelgarbh, or Tuathal of the rugged pate, monarch of Erin, &c. &c. And although the Life of Saint Molaise does not record any deformity of his person as the result of the forcible delay of his birth, yet there can be no reasonable doubt that his head was marked by some peculiarity; to account for which, perhaps, this legend of the manner of his birth was made up.

"'*It condairc mathair Molaise aisling isin oidche .|. secht n-ubhla cúmra d'fhaghail di; 7 in t-ubhal dighinach do ghabh ina láimh dibh nir tacmaic a glac é re remhed. Indarlé nir áille in t-or ina i t-ubhall. Innisidh da fir in aisling sin. Tuicimsi sin amh, bar in fear, ocus bera-sa gein amhra, ocus cinnfidh ar a chomh-dine.*

"'*Cidh tra acht tainic aimsir asaidhe mathar Molaise, ocus ro gabsat idhna hi. A dubairt an drai fria: Da fuirge do ghein gan a breith no go turgaba grian amárach, bid airderc ocus bid ordan mór airbuilech, firén, fir-uasal; ocus bid gein sochair slanaighthi iarthair in domhain in degh-ghein breth, a bhean.*

"'*Do fuiridh in fir-dhia in gein a m-broinn Monoa gur tuisim i n-Airiud Bhairr for an leic chloich iar n-eirge greine arnabharach; ocus tucad chum espuic Eochaidh gur baistedh, ocus gur bennaiged; ocus is esin tuc cét gradha fair iartain.*'

"'Molaise's mother saw a vision in the night—viz., that she found seven sweet apples; and the last apple of them which she took in her hand, her hand could not encompass it because of its bulk; and it appeared unto her that gold was not more beautiful than the apple. She told her vision to her husband. I understand it, said the husband, and you will bring forth an illustrious being who will excel all his contemporaries. In the meantime, the time of Molaise's mother's travail came, and a druid [wise man] said to her:—If you can delay the birth of your child till after the sun has risen to-morrow, he shall be an illustrious, dignified, miraculous, truly righteous, and truly noble man: an

that precious being which thou wilt bring forth, O woman, will be a being of profit and salvation to the western world. The true God detained the infant in Monoa's womb until she brought him forth at Airiud Bhairr, upon the flag-stone, after sunrise on the morrow. And he was brought unto Bishop Eochaidh, who baptised and blessed him; and it was he that conferred first orders upon him afterwards.'

"Should this short extract be found in any way useful to you in your honest and valuable antiquarian researches, it will indeed be the cause of much satisfaction to, dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

"Edmund Getty, Esq." "Eugene Curry.

The opinion of Ledwich, that stone-roofed chapels were erected to receive the relics of certain holy men, is open to objection; for these buildings may, with equal plausibility, be considered as the original churches erected contemporaneously with the towers. At the same time, it is highly probable that the relics of such persons were deposited in them or in the towers, at the time of their erection, or at a subsequent period, and that this was the case with respect to St Molaissi at Devenish.

Another question, however, arises out of the facts observed during the explorations made at this famous seat of our early Christianity, more closely connected with an inquiry into the uses of the Irish Round Towers.

There are few candid investigators, whatever may be the views with which they commence, who do not feel compelled to admit that the most reasonable conjecture on the subject is the one so ably supported by Dr. Petrie in his celebrated essay. The writer, however, cannot join the learned author and his admirers (many of them very injudicious friends,) in altogether ignoring the conjectures of such persons as the gentlemen who compose the South Munster Antiquarian Society; for it is one of the cases in which both views may be correct. Indeed it is difficult to imagine any more natural course than for an enthusiastic people to deposit in such buildings the recent bodies or the remains of those whom they highly venerated during life, and whose good works had become associated with the place. That this may have actually occurred, the human remains found in the towers give some reason for believing, without, at the same time, adopting the extreme view of what is called the "sepulchral origin" theory; for it is a very different thing to view the towers as sepulchres, and to consider them as ecclesiastical buildings appropriated, as a secondary object, to the reception of the bodies of those venerated in connection with the religious foundations of the locality. Indeed this very system exists to the present day in the old churches of these islands and causes no surprise: it is therefore quite compatible with all Dr. Petrie's views that this might have been the case with the ecclesiastical buildings of the ancient Irish: so that his theory is weakened—not, certainly, strengthened—by the sensitiveness of his supporters in this matter, and by the unsatisfactory manner in which he himself endeavours to account for the human remains from time to time discovered.

In the case of Devenish, the absence of human remains in the tower so far from shaking the

writer's opinion that, in many instances, these buildings were places of deposit for the remains of the honoured dead, confirmed this view; for he believes that if the stone-roofed chapel had not presented what appeared a still more fitting place, the sarcophagus of the founder would have been deposited in the tower: thus the exception, in some measure, proves the rule.

There is another question respecting the towers that may be usefully discussed here—the object of the lime floors mentioned by most of those who have taken part in the explorations of those buildings. Were they or were they not connected with the sepulchral use?—Some time before examining Devenish, the writer had doubts as to the intention of these floors, and was inclined rather to consider them as a finish made by workmen, than as having any connection with the remains found under them. It seems probable that as the building proceeded, the workmen filled in with clay the interior, and at each offset levelled it off; and having smoothed the surface with care, gave it a covering of dry lime rubbish, so as to produce the appearance observed; and that this was done as high as the intended base extended. In those cases where a body, or the remains of one, was intended to be deposited, the floor was afterwards made; but in any case the floor seems to have been formed. Of this an unmistakeable instance was found at Devenish; where, though no remains had been deposited, the floors were formed in an equally careful manner as in other towers where interments had taken place.

Saint Molaissi's death is generally assumed to have been subsequent to the erection of the tower and of what is named his "house;" and we may suppose that, if any one before his time had been connected with Devenish, the remains of such earlier saint might have been found in the tower; but we do not meet with any name, except his, associated with the ruins here. If a building such as the "house" had not existed, it is the writer's opinion that the saint's remains would have been discovered in the tower; and he was so much impressed with this belief that it led to a more diligent investigation in the ruins of "St. Molaissi's house" than would otherwise have been made.

It is further to be observed—for where the investigation of truth, not the establishment of a theory, is the object in view, every fact requires to be fully set forth—that, with the exception of Trummery tower, this is the only instance in which the remains seem to have been deposited with the amount of care that seems likely to have been bestowed on the bodies of persons held in high esteem by their fellow-men; although in the other cases mentioned, the bones deposited in the towers were, in the writer's estimation, not the result of accident but of design. It is not now to be anticipated that these difficulties are ever likely to receive a satisfactory explanation.

The learned Muratori, in the first volume of the *Anecdota*, when commenting on a poem of St. Paulinus, who died at the commencement of the fifth century, and on the following passage therein—

"Tegit una latentem
Cellula de multis, quæ per latera undique magnis
Adpositæ tectis præbent secura sepultis
Hospitia"—

introduces a dissertation on early Christian sepulture, in which he shows that, from a very early period indeed, the bodies of holy men were deposited in churches; and that a Christian temple could not be consecrated unless it contained the body of a martyr or other relics. This sentiment is also expressed by Paulinus in a line in the same poem—

"Quæ cineres reverenda tegunt altaria sacros."

It is not in place here to give the various authorities quoted by Muratori; but there is one part of the dissertation that applies to the relics found in Saint Molaissi's house—*Cellulæ* this author translates by the Italian word *Capelle*, and he considers the Latin *Cubicula* as of equivalent signification. "Eadem Cubicula," he adds, "quoque οἰκίσκια appellabantur à Græcis." It is not mentioned at what time the stone-roofed chapel at Devenish acquired the name "house;" but if this appellation has come down from early times, it does not seem improbable that the idea was acquired from these οἰκίσκοι, which were tombs. Conjecture may, perhaps, proceed a step further, and instead of considering buildings, so much out of proportion with the towers near which they are found, as the original churches, may look on them as cells or chapels attached to large churches, perhaps of timber, which have now altogether disappeared. "Lateribus autem Basilicæ cellulæ istæ, seu Cubicula, insita erant, eodemque, procul dubio, ordine, quo præsentium temporum Capellæ dispositæ conspiciuntur." "These cells or resting-places were joined to the Basilicks, doubtless by the same rule as is observed in placing the small chapels of the present period." Such is the view taken by Muratori. It is proper nevertheless, to keep in view the statements of Dr. Petrie's in his Sub-section iv., entitled "Houses."

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF IRISH HISTORY. No. 6.

PLANTATION OF ULSTER.

ORIGINAL LETTER FROM SIR JOHN DAVYS,

GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE INQUISITION ON THE FORFEITED LANDS IN THE COUNTY OF COLERAIN, A.D. 1609.

[The following Letter, which is now for the first time made public, is copied from the original in the State Paper Office; where it will be found in the collection marked "*Irish, June to Dec.*, 1609," No 122. It will be read with interest by all who are desirous of tracing out the details of the great revolution known in history as the Plantation of Ulster, the most important event in our annals since the Invasion of 1172; yet one about which less of accurate knowledge exists than respecting the transactions of Strongbow and De Courcy. The document illustrates, in a very striking manner, the circumstances connected with the transfer of the land in the present county of Londonderry from the native proprietors to the Twelve Guilds of the city of London; which has been briefly alluded to in Mr. Porter's paper on the Sept of the O'Cathains of Ciannachta, in our last number, [p. 143.] The writer was the celebrated Sir John Davys,—(commonly but erroneously written *Davies*,)—who was Attorney-General in Ireland in the reign of King James I., and Speaker of the House of Commons in the Irish Parliament which met in the year 1613, commonly called the Lord Deputy Chichester's Parliament. Sir John was born at Tisbury in Wiltshire, about the year 1570; studied at Oxford and the Middle Temple; and was called to the bar in July, 1595. About two years afterwards, he was expelled from the Temple, by a unanimous vote of the benchers, for an outrage of which he was guilty, in bastinading a fellow member while they were at dinner together in the Temple-hall. He turned his rustication to good account, by availing himself of the leisure time which it afforded, to compose his celebrated poem on the immortality of the soul, entitled *Nosce Teipsum;* which was published in 1599. Soon after, he gave to the world twenty-six *Acrostics* in praise of Queen Elizabeth; (one for each letter of the alphabet;) all of them so artificially constructed that the initial letters of their separate lines put together make the words ELIZABETHA REGINA. The compliment was well accepted by her majesty, on whom no compliment was altogether lost, and who, being now far advanced in years, seemed to think it more especially incumbent upon her to reward, with smiles at least, men of genius who celebrated her wit, beauty, grace, and accomplishments. Davys was also befriended by Cecil, the Secretary of State: and, being chosen a member of Parliament, in 1601,—an appointment which added not a little weight to the recommendations of his patrons,—he was, on submission and apology, restored to his former rank in the Temple. If he expected any more solid mark of favour from his royal mistress, he was disappointed, for none such was conferred: we cannot be surprised, therefore, to find that when her death drew near, he was among the many courtiers who posted down to Scotland "to worship the rising sun." By King James he was re-

ceivedwith distinguished favour: and when he succeeded to the English crown in 1603, he immediately appointed Davys Solicitor-General for Ireland. No sooner had he arrived in Dublin than he was advanced to the post of Attorney-General. In this situation he was trusted and consulted by the Government both in England and Ireland; not merely on professional questions, but on all matters of Irish policy; and had a large share both in the good and ill by which the Irish administration of King James was distinguished. Of his abilities as a lawyer he has left a splendid record in his *Report of Cases and Matters in Law, adjudged in the King's Courts in Ireland*, published by himself in 1615, in Norman, or rather Law French; and afterwards in an English translation, (though without the author's learned and elegant preface,) in the year 1762. As this work abounds in materials most valuable to the Irish antiquarian, and not elsewhere to be met with, and as it is also become rather a scarce book, it may be useful here to enumerate the cases which are reported in it: they are,—1, *The Case of Proxies Ecclesiastical; (Exch.)*—2, *The Case of Customs payable for Merchandise; (K. B.)*—3, *The Case of Mixed Money; (Pri. Co.)*—4, *The Case of Tanistry, (K. B.)*—5, *The Case of the Dean & Chapter of Ferns, or De Capitulariter Congregatis; (K. B.)*—6, *The Case of the Irish Custom of Gavelkind; (Pri. Co. by advice of all the Judges.)*—7, *The Course of Trial of Legitimation and Bastardy; (Court of Castle Chambers.)*—8, *The Case of the Royal Fishery of the Bann; (Pri. Co.)*—9, *The Case of the County Palatine of Wexford; (Exch.)*—10, *The Case of a Commanda; (C. P.)*—11, *The Case of Premunire; (K. B.)*—This last Case, it may be observed, was originally published in English.

Besides the foregoing, Sir John Davys published several treatises on the laws of England which are here omitted, as not relating especially to Ireland, though of course affecting it as a member of the empire. He gave to the world, in 1612, a valuable historical essay entitled *A Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued till the beginning of His Majesty's Reign*—which was frequently reprinted, both during his life and afterwards. Along with the last edition, (Dublin, 1787, 8vo.) the editor published, for the first time, (1) *A Letter to the Earl of Salisbury*, (i. e. Robert Cecil, Lord Treasurer of England,) *on the scale a Monaghan, Fermanagh and Cavan, in the year* 1607. In the beginning of this letter, Sir John refers to *several previous communications* from himself to the same noble lord; but whether they are still in existence is uncertain. (2) *A Letter to the Earl of Salisbury concerning the Plantation of the Escheated Counties in Ulster*, dated at Dublin, 8th Nov. 1610. This relates chiefly to the county of Cavan, and treats more especially of the legal difficulties of the case.—And (3) *A Speech to the Lord Deputy, on his approbation of him as Speaker of the House of Commons*, 2 May, 1613. Another letter from Sir John Davys to the Earl of Salisbury, (dated Camp near Colerain, 8th of August, 1608,) and containing much curious historical matter, has been printed in a preceding number of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, (vol. iii. pp. 167—171:) and three Charges addressed by him to Grand Juries, in England or Ireland—for he went circuit in both countries, as Judge of Assize, being the first magistrate who ever dispensed English laws in several of the territories in Ireland—exist in MS. in the British Museum. It is greatly to be wished that search were made for all his papers relating to the public affairs in which he was engaged, and that a collected edition of them were printed.

In the Irish House of Commons of 1613, Sir John Davys sat as a member for the county of Monaghan, in which he had received a considerable estate by royal grant: he was the first who ever represented that county in Parliament. He necessarily resigned his office of Attorney-General on being confirmed as Speaker; and on the prorogation, returned to England, where he resumed the practice of the law, in the rank of King's Sergeant, to which he had been raised. He was chosen a member of the English Parliament which met in 1620, and distinguished himself by the zeal and ability with which he defended the interests of Ireland. It has been said that he became one of the English Judges, and was appointed Lord Chief Justice; but both statements are erroneous. It is indeed true that on the very last day of his life, he received an assurance from the Lord Keeper, Coventry, that he would be appointed to the high office of Lord Chief Justice of England in the room of Sir R. Crewe; but his sudden death by apoplexy on the 7th Dec. 1626, prevented the fulfilment of the pledge.]

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It may please yr Lp.; wee ar now in the county of Colrane,[a] wch conteyneth Ochane's fruitfull cuntrey; and is the Third Stage in or Journey: from thence I am bold to give yr Lp. this Third Aduertisement[b] of our proceeding.

Wee[c] pursue our first course in describing and destinguishing the land. Our Geography hath had the speedier dispath heer, for that the County is but little, consisting only of three Baronies;[d] and for that wee sent 2 surveyors before, to perambulate the cuntry, and to præpare the Busines by gathering noates of the names, seites, and extents of the Townelands; wch they performed well and readily, being accompanied but wth a slender guard. I speake of a guard, as of a necessary circumstance; for though the cuntry bee now quiet, and the heades of greatnes gone; yit our Gographers do not forgett what entertaynement the Irish of Tireonnell gave to a map-maker about the end of the late great Rebellion: for one Barkeley being appoynted by the

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[a] Called, since the year 1615, the county of Londonderry,—by joining together the names of two cities, one of which became the principal purchaser of the territory a very short time after the date of this letter; the other was the chief, and apparently the only town in the territory itself. The county of Coleraine was first constituted by royal authority in the first year of King James I. deriving its name from one of the two places of strength, within its precincts, that were then actually subject to the English power. The lands comprised within it had formerly been declared to be "Shire ground," and included in the so-called "county of Tyrone," by return to a commission under the Great Seal, in the year 1591; but owing to the rebellion of Hugh O'Neill, the last earl of Tyrone, this appointment never took effect: and on the accession of King James, the lands included in the county of Tyrone, as defined in 1591, were divided into the counties of Tyrone and Coleraine. The latter has since changed its name, and has received the addition of a barony: in o her respects the boundaries remain as then settled.

[b] It would be extremely desirable to ascertain whether the two former communications here referred to still exist. It is probable that a farther search in the State Paper Office, the British Museum, and the family mansions of the house of Salisbury, would not be altogether fruitless; and it is evident that Sir John Davys in this letter passes over some topics hastily, as having sufficiently discussed them in his previous dispatches.

[c] That is, the commissioners appointed by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Ireland, dated the 21st of July, 1609; and enrolled *Rot. Pat. Canc* 16 *Jac. I.* 2 *da p.m* 1 *d.* addressed to Sir Arthur Chichester, *Lord Deputy*; Thomas, Archbishop of Dublin, *Chancellor*; Henry, Archbishop of Armagh, *Lord Primate*; George, Bishop of Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe, (*sic*;) Sir Thomas Ridgeway, *Treasurer;* Sir Richard Wingfield, *Marshall:* Sir Humphry Winche, *Chief Justice of K. B:* Sir John Denham, *Chief Baron of Exch.;* The Master of the Rolls; Sir Oliver St. John, *Master of the Ordinance;* Sir Oliver Lambert, *Privy Councillor;* Sir Henry Power, *do.;* Sir Gerald Moore, *do.;* Sir Adam Loftus, *do.;* Sir Richard Cooke, *Chief Secretary;* Sir John Davys, *Atty. General;* Wm. Parsons, Esq., *Surveyor General;* and George Sexton Esq., *Escheator of Ulster;* commanding them to inquire of and concerning escheated lands in the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Coleraine, Donegall, Fermanagh and Cavan; and to divide and applot the same into parishes, precincts, and proportions; with the exception of the church lands; and the church lands, with consent of the Lord Deputy and the three Prelates; to rectify mistakes in former Inquisitions; and to do all manner of things necessary to the Plantation; &c., &c., &c. For their guidance, particular *Instructions* were drawn out; which, with the Letters Patent, and the Inquisitions taken in consequence, will be found in the Appendix to the volume published by the Record Commissioners, entitled *Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellariæ Hiberniæ Asservatarum, Repertorium, vol.* ii. 1829, *fol.*—It appears from the signatures appended to the finding for the county of Coleraine, that the following Commissioners were present when it was taken; viz, Sir A. Chichester, the Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishop of Derry, Sir T. Ridgeway, Sir H. Winche, Sir J. Davys, and W. Parsons.

[d] The three baronies of which the county then consisted were, as appears from the finding of the Commissioners and Jurors, those of Coleraine, Kenaght, and Annagh, (now Tirkeerin.) The Barony of Loughinsholin, the largest in the present county of Londonderry, was, in the year 1609, annexed to the county of Tyrone, as appears from the Inquisition for that county in the volume above referred to. The district now called the North-west Liberties of Derry, situated W. of the Foyle, was then a distinct jurisdiction, and was the subject of a separate Inquisition.

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late earle of Devonshire to draw a trew and perfect mapp of the North parts of Vlster (for that the old mappes were false and defective) when hee came into Tirconnell, the enhabitants tooke of his head, bycause they would not have their cuntrey discovered.

For the distinctions of the Church lands in this county, wee had a Jury of clerke or scholers for the Jurors; 15 in number. 13 of them spake good Latin, and that very readily. These clerks, being chosen in the præsence of the lo: primate, by reasonable præsumption shold rather bee partiall for the Clergy then for the King.[e]

They conceaved their verdict or præsentment in a singular good forme and methode, and gave vs more light than ever wee had before touching the originall and estate of Herenaghes and Termon Lands.[f]

Heer at length after long expectation the lo: Bishop of Derry[g] came to the

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[e] The names of the Jurors were as follows: they are here given beeause they appear to have been gentlemen of good education and family, belonging to the principal septs then inhabiting the county.

Manus McEvally,
John O'Heney,
Fardorogh O'Mullane,
Richard Mc Owen O'Cahan,
Owen McCawell,
Patrick McRody,
Rory McAnalle,
Owen grome McGillegan,
Gilleduffe O'Mullen,
Dermot O'Chane,
James O'Mullane,
Gilleduffe McHerenagh McCloskie,
William McAtagart
Patrick oge McEtegart
Morrice McCowell.

That thirteen out of the fifteen jurors could speak Latin fluently and well, is a proof that *in some things* education has not made the progress which we sometimes flatter ourselves it has:—for it may be doubted whether the whole county could now produce thirteen men who could make themselves understood in extemporaneous Latin.

[f] The part of the finding, here referred to, seems to be the following. "And further touchinge the originall and difference of Corbes and Herenaghes, and of the Termon lands of the said county of Coleraine, the said jurors doe, uppon their oathes, finde and say, that Donell McHugh O'Neale, kinge of Ireland, did, long before any bushopps were made in the said kingdom of Ireland, give unto certaine holy men, whom they call *sancti patres*, severall portions of land, and a thirde part of all the tiethes; to th'end that they should say praiers, and beare a thirde parte of all the chardge of repairinge and maynteyninge the parishe church; (th'other two third parts beinge borne by the parson and vicear to whom the rest of the tiethes is yerely paied:) and alsoe for their owne honor and sustentation; and that afterwards the said holy men did give unto severall septs severall proportions of the said lands; and placed one or more of them in every parishe, to hould both the said land and the third parte of the tiethes, for ever, according to the course of Tanistrie, free from all exactions; and that for that eause the land was called *Termon* or *free*, and the tennant thereof sometimes called Corbe and sometimes Herenagh; and that the said Corbe or Herenagh was to beare a third parte of the chardge in repairinge and maynteyninge the parishe church; and that the said portion of land and the third part of the tiethes so contynued free unto the Corbe or Herenagh for many years, untill the church of Rome established bushopps in this kingdom, and decreed that every Corbe or Herenagh should give unto the bushopp (within whose diocese he lived) a yerely pension, more or less, according to his proportion, out of his entire Erenachie, consisting of the said land and the said third parte of the tiethes; and that thereunto the said Corbes and Herenaghs submitted themselves; but held their Herenachie free for ever; and could not be removed by any of the temporall or spirituall lords or by other person whatsoever. And further the said jurors doe, uppon their oathes, finde that the difference of Termon, Corbe, and Herenagh consisteth onlie in this, that the Termon is the name of the land; and all Termon-land is Herenagh-land, and hath all the privilege of Herenagh-land; but all Herenagh-land hath not alwaies as ample privileges as the Termon-lands."

[g] The Right Rev. George Montgomery, next brother to Hugh Montgomery, laird of Braidstanes, in the kingdom of Scotland. This laird had ingratiated himself with K. James I. before his accession to the crown of England; and shortly after that event, was, through the king's favour, and the urgent intercession of his brother, then Dean of Norwich, endowed with one-third of the lands possessed by Con O'Neill, of Castlereagh, in the County of Down; and was created Lord Montgomery of the Ards. The Dean was soon afterwards

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campe, and was præsent at the giving vp of the Jurors Præsentment; wherein byeause it was found that the lands possessed by the Herenaghes and their septs, were their proper enheritanee and not the enheritanee of the BBs.; and that the BBs. had only Rents out of those lands, and not the lands themselves; (though heerin they did eoneur with the verdiets given in Tirone and Ardmagh this yeare, and wth all the præsentments made the last yeare, being indeed a manifest and infallible Truth.)

Yet byeause it doth eontradiet his Lps. suggestion made in England wth great eonfidenee and assuranee—viz., that these lands were the very demeasne lands of the BBs; oppon wch suggestions his Matie was specially moved to conferr all those lands to their severall seas; therefore his Lp. tooke exeeptions to that part of the Verdiet; affirming that hee would not beleeve that they did all agree in that poynt; and therevppon he did examine them by the poll, before the lo: Deputy and the rest of the eommissioners; and though he did expostulate wth them somewhat roundly and sharply (wch might have altered sueh poore men as must live under his Jurisdiction) yet every one held his opinion eonstantly, and every one severally gave sueh plaine and probable reasons of his opinion as the eommissioners were fully satisfied, and the præsentment receaved. [b]

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advanced to the episcopal bench, being made Bishop of Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe; in all which Sees he was the first Protestant prelate. He is commended by his grand nephew, the writer of the *Montgomery MSS.* for his zealous exertions to secure adequate maintenance for the clergy of the church to which he belonged, and is censured by many of his contemporaries for his neglect of the spiritual wants of his diocese, and his eager pursuit of the temporalities. Sir John Davys does not scruple to mention him with contemptuous censure on this account, on various occasions. Thus, in his *Letter to the Earl of Salisbury on the state of Monaghan, Fermanagh, and Cavan*, (written A. D. 1607,) he says, after mentioning the deplorable condition of the church in these counties—"It was thought meet to suspend and stay all proceedings therenpon until the bishop of Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe, (which three dioceses comprehend the greatest part of Ulster,—albeit they be now united for one man's benefit,) shall arrive out of England; whose absence, being two years since he was elected by his Majesty, hath been the chief cause that no course hath been hitherto taken to reduce this poor people to Christianity; and therefore *majus peccatum habet*" (*Historical Tracts*, p. 241.)

[b] If, as appears to have been the fact, the following passage was written by Bishop Montgomery after the finding of this Inquisition, (he himself being one of the Commissioners, taking an active part in the proceedings, and attesting the office by his signature,) his conduct must be regarded as very extraordinary. It occurs in a memorial which he presented to King James, complaining of the Jurors, and the effect of the commission generally; praying that all Termon and Herenagh land in his three dioceses may be declared to be the property of the several Sees, and that the parochial glebes should be taken, not out of the Herenach land, but out of what he calls the Temporal lands escheated to the Crown. His very first allegation, is that "all these offices, whereby the patrimony of the church hath byn thus caryed awaye, were found *in the vacancy of these Sees,—when no Byshop was to clayme the right of the church,—or when the Byshops were not of the commission; nor called to showe their right as in other commissions is used:* and therefore ought not, in the Byshop's judgment, under correction, to be prejudiciall unto the church."—(*Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry*, vol. i., p. 53)—The reader is not to suppose that in this contest between the bishop and the crown lawyers, the Herenach had the slightest interest. If the lands were found to have been the property of the septs, they were held to be forfeited to the Crown by the Act of 1557, in consequence of Shane O'Neill's rebellion. If they were found to have been the property of the Sees, the bishops entered upon possession as a matter of course. In either case the natives were to be expelled: as they were, soon afterwards.

S. P. O. Irish. June to Dec., 1609. No. 122.

In this little county wee have had a great Gaol-delivry, but no execution of any prisoner; for my lo: Deputy hath spared and reserved them all to fill up the companies that are to bee sent into the warrs of Swethen.[i]

The Londoners ar now come and exceeding welcome unto vs[j] Wee all vse our best Rhetoriek to persuade them to go on wth their plantation; wch will assure this whole Iland to the Crowne of England for ever. They like, and praise the countrey very much; specially the Banne,[k] and the R^vr^ of Loghfoyle: one of the Agents is fallen sick, and would faine return; but my lo: Deputy and all the rest heer do vse all meanes to comfort him and to retayne him; lest this accident should discourage his fellow-cittizens.

Thus wth the humble præsentation of my duty and service to yor L^P^. I desire yor L^ps^. pardon for my boldnes in giving so many rude and illwritten letters to yor Lop, wch this rude place and distraction of busines may excuse. I remayne yor L^ps^. in all duty,

Jo: Davys.

The Camp neer Limevaddy in Ochane's Cuntrey, 28 Augst 1609.

The direction is in the handwriting of Sir J. Davys.

Directed—"To the right honourable my very good lord my Lord the Earle Salisbury lord high Treasorrer of England."

Endorsed—"A letter from Atturny of Ireland to my lord, 28 Augst 1690, from the Campe neer Limevady."

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i This is a new fact, not mentioned in any history of the time, so far as we are aware.

j Deputies sent over by the city of London, to examine the forfeited land in the counties of Colrane and Tyrone, before accepting the purchase of them on the terms proposed by the king in council. Their report was favourable; and the bargain was concluded soon after they returned home. The charter by which the estates were conveyed was formally executed in 1613. It is to be observed that it did not convey any portion of the Herenagh or Termon lands to the Undertakers; on the contrary, all of them were annexed to the Sees of Derry and Armagh in *frankalmoign*, and the London companies were required to endow the parish churches with 60 acres of glebe each.

k See, upon this subject, the Report of the *Case of the Bann*, in the volume of Sir John Davys' *Law Reports*, (Dublin ed. 1762, p. 149.)

THE FRENCH SETTLERS IN IRELAND—No. 7.

THE SETTLEMENT IN WATERFORD.*

BY THE REV. THOMAS GIMLETTE, WATERFORD.

From the earliest record of our local history, Waterford has ever afforded a home and a shelter for the foreigner. The name of the barony in which the city and its liberties are comprised (Gualtier) signifies "the land of the stranger;" the Danes made it one of their first settlements; the Norman knights who followed Strongbow and Raymond le Gros soon stormed its battlements and made it their head-quarters; the Templars and Knights of St. John established themselves here, after their return from the Crusades; Dominicans and Franciscans from France and Spain were succeeded by burgesses from Bristol, who "drove a thriving trade," and by troopers from Gloucester, who gladly gave up "their warring and their fighting" for a secure settlement in a rich and loyal city. The sons of the strangers are now some of its most respected citizens.

The easy access to the harbour of Waterford, and its peculiar advantages for commercial enterprise, point out at once a sufficient reason why so many settlers should from time to time take up their abode on the banks of that beautiful river, which Spenser, in his *Faerie Queene*, describes as

> "The first, the gentle Shure that making way
> By sweet Clonmel adorns rich Waterford."

War brought some; religion others; but more came for trade to a large and thriving sea-port, and succeeded in raising its importance in the several countries to which their ships resorted. But, besides its natural facilities, Waterford was a city which had long enjoyed the favour of the British Crown. The franchises and immunities granted to its inhabitants by King John, which were confirmed and increased by his successors, rendered its merchants and traders free of "*coquett and custome*" in every part of England and Ireland, and enabled them as well to import as to export a considerable share of merchandise with peculiar means of profit and little risk of loss.

At one time, in the days of Henry the 7th, the Irish traffic with the south of France for Rhenish and Gascoigne wine was almost monopolised by Waterford; the intercourse consequent thereupon was, of course, considerable. In other branches of commercial pursuit the same brisk

* The concluding article on the Portarlington settlement will be given in an early Number of the Journal.

interchange was carried on, the same advantages followed, and in the succeeding reigns the *Urbs Intacta* became the great port of transit, not alone to England and Wales, but also to Flanders,* Spain, and many parts of France, as soon as the proclamations of peace enabled the voyagers to do so with impunity. In the middle of the 16th century even, the continental traders had discovered the peculiar advantages of a residence here; an interesting record of which for many years was to be seen on one of the beautiful columns of the old Waterford Cathedral, in the form of an ancient monument to the memory of a merchant born in French Flanders, who died here A.D. MDXLV. Although this was much defaced by Cromwell's soldiery, from the circumstance of the principal figure being an effigy in a kneeling position, and although it was completely destroyed when the ancient edifice was taken down, yet the inscription has been preserved in the valuable histories of Smith and Ryland. It was as follows:—

"Nobilis hic situs est Guilhelmus Clusius, ille
Mercator Fidus cui Patria alma Brugis
Cecropius, Cimonq; Cudonq; Corinthus alter
Pectore Munifico tum Pietate pari
Nec Minor is Crœso, Mida Crassove beatus
Divitiis, Placidus Indole Plebicola.
Obiit Waterfordiæ Hiberniæ Anno MDXLV.

Beneath this were the following verses in the Walloon French, placed in two columns:—

La Noble Renomée
Du mortel sans remort
D'Art vive et animee
Triumphe de la Mort.

Je dis Lhumain en somme
Periclitant c'a bas
Qui le sien Corp's consomme
Aux immortel's es bas.

Bruges ville Flandrine
.....more
....peine
.....faites decore.

Au Temple de Memoire
Appendu est son nom
Bruges das rememoire
A tout heur son renom.

Bruges crie et lamente
Apres son Citadin
Waterford s'en augmente
Daviour faict tel Butin.

Le Noble de Leseluse
Jadis contre le tans,
D'honneur, et grace infuse
Arma ses heurs et an's.

Courtois et magnifique
Fut autant que Cimon
Clement et pacifique
Cent fois plus que Cydon.

De son heureuse race
A laisse un rameau
Qui ampleete et embrasse
Virtu d'un Sainct Cerveau.

Anvers, jont pour l'heure
De ses pullons heureus
Illustrateurs J'asseure
De leurs noms vertueus.

Le Ciel inaccessible
Nous rechante hautement
Del leneluse paisible
Son duten Sautement.

* In 1484 a shipment by some merchants of Waterford to Sluys, in Flanders, in preference to Calais, raised the question of Ireland being bound by statutes made in England, which was finally determined in the affirmative.

On the pillars were figures representing truth and piety, and above, the following sentence :—

"Domine secundum actum meum noli me judicare, Nihil dignum in conspectu tuo egi."

From these circumstances, it will not appear strange that at a later period of its history a goodly number of the FRENCH HUGUENOT REFUGEES should seek for a home in a city where their habits of industry would meet with a fitting reward; where a constant intercourse might be expected, not only with the land of their fathers, but also with their brethren in Holland, Germany, and England; and from which a voyage of a few short days would bring them tidings of the very spot which they had left for conscience' sake. But besides these reasons, there were others equally strong, which prompted the men of Picardy and Languedoc to establish themselves in the spot where the Norman knight, the Franciscan friar, and the vintner from Bourdeaux, had already been planted generation after generation, to fight with all, pray with all, or fill a bumper for all, according to the times in which they made their settlement.

James the First, in consequence of a riot at the time of his proclamation, had possessed himself of the Great Charter of the city, and at his death it still remained unrestored. In 1626, Charles the First, on the petition of the citizens, granted them a new Charter, restoring all the ancient privileges, and bestowing many new ones. This new charter, for which the citizens were compelled to pay the large sum of three thousand pounds, was followed by a second one, which was dated February the 19th, 1631, and granted to them important rights of Admiralty and jurisdictions over the fisheries. The trade and manufacture again improved; and although the rebellion of 1641, and the engagements of Cromwell and Ormonde before its very walls in 1650, tended to check commercial enterprise, it was only for a time, and again the maritime powers of the continent endeavoured to trade with the freemen "on the banks of the SHURE."

The Corporation and principal inhabitants of the city were at this period Protestant. The Puritan followers of Cromwell had settled here in considerable numbers; and the intercourse with the Calvinistic Protestants of Holland, France, and Geneva, was kept up by the unity which existed in their religious feelings and opinions. In the year 1662, the Duke of Ormonde being viceroy, a Bill was brought into the Irish Parliament, then sitting at Dublin, entitled "*an Act for encouraging Protestant Strangers and others to inhabit Ireland.*" It received the Royal assent on the 19th of September—William Halsey and John Eyre, the members for Waterford, assisting in its becoming law. The Roman Catholic merchants of the city immediately memorialed the Lord Lieutenant, alleging that they were obliged "to pay strangers duties for goods." The Mayor (Bolton's) reply to his Excellency was, "*that they were not freemen, had taken no oath of supremacy, and they may and do harbour not only goods of strangers in his Majesty's dominions, but of the subjects of other princes.*"*

* In the new rules given at the Council Chamber of Dublin, Sept. 23, 1672, Waterford is especially named as one of the cities chosen for the encouragement of the settlement of Protestant foreigners.

In 1692, the first Parliament after the revolution was convened in Dublin by Henry, Lord Viscount Sidney. Its first act was "the recognition of their Majesties' undoubted right to the crown of Ireland;" its next, "An act for the encouragement of Protestant strangers to settle in the Kingdom of Ireland." Charles the Second's act had continuance only for seven years from the date of its passing in 1662. The number of French Huguenots who had fought under King William in Ireland, who were now about being disbanded, and whose abiding in the country was earnestly desired by all who favoured the Prince of Orange, rendered the renewal of the Bill most desirable; and it was hurried through both Houses without discussion. Anthony Luxberry and Henry Nicholls were the citizens representing Waterford who aided in its passing; and, according to the Journal of the House, "*nemine contradicente.*" Its first provision was as follows: —"That all and every part of King Charles the Second's Act for encouraging Protestant strangers and others to inhabit and plant in the Kingdom of Ireland, which is now expired, shall be in full force and virtue, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, for and during the term of seaven years from the end of this present session of Parliament, and no longer." The next demanded that the Protestant settler should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy in open court at the Assizes or Sessions, before three Justices of the Peace, the fee for which should be one shilling, and without which they were not to be naturalised. The last had reference to their faith and worship; and thus it ran:—"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all Protestant strangers and foreigners who, at any time hereafter, shall come into this kingdom, and shall take the Oaths and subscribe the declaration herein above mentioned, shall have and enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and have liberty of meeting together publickly for the worship of God, and of hearing divine service and performing other religious duties in their own several languages; and also according to the several rites used in their own countries, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding."

This "Act of encouragement" would induce many of the Huguenot officers and soldiers to remain as settlers: but it was also desirable that men skilled in manufacture should be prevailed on to come over and increase the Protestant population. The linen trade was one which seemed to afford the best inducement; and, accordingly, we find the Corporation of Waterford, at a council meeting held on the 27th of March, 1693, passing the following resolution on the subject of the Protestant refugees:—

Ordered March 27th, 1693.—"That this city and liberties do provide habitations for fifty families of the French Protestants, to drive a trade of linen manufacture, they bringing with them a stock of money and materials for their subsistence till flax can be sown and produced on the lands adjacent; and that the freedom of the city be given them *gratis;* and the Mayor and Recorder are desired to acquaint the Lord Bishop of this diocese therewith." This Bishop was Dr. Nathaniel Foy;* the Mayor, Daniel Lloyde; the Recorder, Minard Christain; all three remarkable for their Protestant zeal.

* Dr Foy, who had himself suffered for adherence to the Protestant religion, endeavoured to strengthen the cause in Waterford by planting a colony of the refugees; and establishing a Protestant school for the sons of the Waterford freemen.

By the exertions of Bishop Foy a suitable place of worship was soon provided for the refugees; for although many of the Huguenots had been more inclined to the Genevan form of worship, yet in Waterford they conformed to the discipline of the bishop who was so kind a patron. A pious pastor arrived to officiate for them,—his name was David Gervais. The Corporation voted a grant of £40 per annum as a salary for the French minister, and the choir of the old Franciscan Abbey was fitted up with neatness and simplicity as the French Church. The civic authorities, however, although recording this grant, seem to have made little provision for the payment of it; but in consequence of a remonstrance addressed to them by the minister, we find that, during the Mayoralty of Theodore Jones, in June, 1702, the following resolution was agreed to:—"Upon reading the petition of David Gervais, French minister, it was ordered—That his salary of £40 per annum be continued, and the arrear paid." This was continued to him till his death. Bishop Foy had died on the 31st of Dec. 1707, but his successor, Dr. Mills, continued his kindness. The Rev. David Gervais was promoted in 1713 by him to be one of the prebendaries of Lismore Cathedral, and was installed for Modelligo. He did not, however, resign his charge over the church which he had planted, for in the next year the following record is found in the Cathedral Registry at Waterford:—

"1714, April 12th.—Lieutenant Peter Besard Delamaindre, and Mrs. Jane Dubay, were married by Mr. David Gervais, in the French Church."

Nor did he long enjoy his increase of stipend, for in the same Registry, a few pages farther on, we find the notice of his interment by the Dean of Waterford:—

"1716, July 6th.—The Rev. Mr. David Gervais, prebendary of Modelligo and minister of the French Church, was buried this day by the Rev. Mr. Dean Eeles, in Christ Church."

Lieutenant Delamaindre also left his wife for the second time a widow; but both good ladies seem to have been cared for by the country of their adoption. In a return made to the Irish House of Commons, Dec. 19, 1756, of half-pay officers' widows enjoying pensions, we have—"Mrs. Jane Delamaindre, a pension of £20 per annum;" and on the civil establishment at the same time—"Mrs. Mary Gervais, a pensioner of the crown, for £54 15s."

Another branch of the Gervais family appears to have settled in Lismore, but what the particular connection was cannot be traced from the record. That they were of the same stock may, however, be gathered from the following entry in the Waterford Register:—

"1714. Sept. 15th.—William, son of the Rev. Isaac Gervais and Catherine his wife, of Lismore, buried in the French Church."

In 1708 the Rev. Isaac Gervais was appointed one of the Vicars Choral of Lismore. In 1724 he was made prebendary of Kilrosantie; and in 1743 Dean of Tuam. He died in 1756, and was buried in Lismore. On his appointment to the Deanery he resigned the Vicar Choralship of Lismore in favour of his son, the Rev. Henry Gervais, who was succeeded in 1761 by another descendant of the refugees, the Rev. Antoine Fleury. In 1754 the Rev. Henry Gervais was collated to the preben-

dary of Tullaghorton On the 27th May, 1768, he was appointed Treasurer of Cashel, which office he resigned in 1772. He was then appointed Archdeacon of Cashel, and prebend of Doon in the same archdiocese. His collation for both was dated September 18th, 1772. He died in 1790, and was buried in Lismore. His descendants are still to be found in that district, intermarried with the highest families in the county of Waterford.

The second minister of the French Church of Waterford was the Rev. James Denis. The members of the Corporation at this period were not inclined to the same liberality as before, being engaged at deadly feud with Bishop Thomas Mills, who succeeded the good Bishop Foy. Their allowance to the minister of the French Church was a scant one indeed, as appears from the following entry in the Corporation books:—

"Jany. 22, 1717.—Upon reading the petition of the Rev. Mr. Jacobus Denis, Minister of the French Church of Waterford, setting forth that he has a great family of a wife and eight children, and that this board did give a yearly pension to the late Minister of the French Church, and humbly prayed to have a pension allowed him. It is ordered that the said Mr. James Denis be allowed £5 from out of the city revenue during the pleasure of this board, and that to commence from Michlemas last."

This pittance was, however, continued for only five years. On the 28th of July, 1722, it was ordered by the Council "That the Rev. Mr. Denis's salary, minister of the French Church, be suspended." He was, however, remembered by his bishop; and on the 28th of November, 1729, we find him collated to the prebend of Donoghmore, in the diocese of Lismore, on the promotion of the Rev. Hugh Barbon. About the same period also he appears to have received assistance in the ministry of the French Church. In the Visitation Book for the diocese of Waterford, in 1731, we find the following entry made respecting it, and the appearance of the clergy who served its congregation:—

"Jacobus Denis, Cler. Minister Eccliæ Galliæ compt
Anthony Frank, Literatus, Eccliæ Galleiæ Excusatur."

Of Anthony Frank no other notice is recorded; but as Mr. Denis was not succeeded in the prebendary until 1735, when it was occupied by the Rev. Edward Thomas, afterwards Archdeacon of Lismore, it is to be presumed that his ministry lasted for the space of twenty years, and that the little colony had been still fostered and encouraged by those who so gladly welcomed them on their first arrival. Prior to the appointment of Mr. James Denis as pastor, we find from the records that Mr. William Denis officiated in the church. Under date July 11th, 1714, we read as follows:—

"Mr. Benigne Bellet, the wife of Mr. Isaac Bellet, of St. Johns, was buried by Mr. William Denis, in the French Church."

From the fact that the Rev. James Denis and the Rev. Antoine Frank were both cited to the episcopal visitation, it is evident that the bishop claimed jurisdiction over the French Church and

congregation. No peculiar parochial charge was allocated to the pastor, nor did the settlers confine themselves to any particular quarter of the city. From the parochial registers they appear to have settled in the heart of the city, within the walls, and to have been scattered through the seven parishes. And, although they worshipped in their own tongue, and in their own church, they were time after time elected to the chief offices in the churches of the city.

Amongst the churchwardens and vestrymen, the following names prove how highly the citizens valued the new settlers and their descendants. In St. Patrick's Parish appear the names :—Henri Blanche, Alexander D'Maison, John D'Maison, Tobias Linnegar, Samuel Oderoft, Anthonie Hagerein, Hector Boisrond, Marquis Guillard, Germain Luné. In St. Peter's, and St. John's, amongst the very last churchwardens appointed before the union with St. Patrick's, appear Charles L'Maistre, Nicholas Sprusson, Peter Duclà, John Shelmadine, Captain Sautelle, and Francois Spurrier. In St. Olave's, James H. Reynette, Thomas Latrobe, and Jean Vinson. In the Cathedral, (Trinity) Messrs. Gayott, and St. Legere.

They were also honoured members of the Corporation. In the records of the City Council, during this period, appear the names of Chaigneau, Gayott, Vashon, and Ayrault, as common-council men. In 1707, John Espaignet was appointed sheriff of the city. In 1709 Jeremy Gayott was sheriff. The charge of the water-works of the city was entrusted, in 1719, to Alderman Vashon; and in 1726 he filled the office of mayor. In 1735 Peter Vashon was sheriff; and in the years 1738 and 1739 Simon Vashon, jun., was mayor for these successive periods. In 1755 James Henry Reynette was sheriff; and, at a later period, he also occupied the civic chair for two successive years. Several entries are found of the admission of French Refugees to their franchise, in accordance with the bye-laws, during the early part of the Rev. James Denis's pastoral charge. Many of these were engaged in commercial pursuits, and derived considerable immunities from their being naturalised as citizens of Waterford. All hope was debarred them of returning to the districts of Languedoc, or to the provinces of the Lyonnais and Touraine; and the proclamation of Queen Anne's parliament in 1709, which established their right of citizenship, encouraged them to settle down to the export and import of merchandise. In the immediate neighbourhood of the French Church several of their warehouses were situated. The wholesale wine trade has since that period flourished in close contiguity. The busiest general emporiums were even then, as now, nigh at hand; and their ships, well freighted, went and returned to every well known sea-port either at home or abroad; or were moored close at hand in the secure haven of the Suir.

It would appear that many of those who were thus occupied in trade brought over with them a supply of French specie, which was freely taken and offered in the mutual interchange of business in the city. A proclamation from the crown, issued by the Lords Justices of Ireland, 29th August, 1737, ordering that the value of French gold should be reduced to a certain standard, created no inconsiderable alarm; and on the 24th day of October, 1737, a petition was presented to the Irish

House of Commons from "the merchants and traders, inhabitants of Waterford," setting forth—"That several branches of trade in this kingdom, before the issuing of the late proclamation for reducing the gold coin, were brought very low, and were daily decaying, occasioned, as the petitioners apprehend, by a proclamation which formerly issued in this kingdom for adding to the weight of French and Spanish gold." The petitioners prayed the house "to lay before his Majesty such a method for a regulation not only of the current coin of this kingdom, but also of all foreign coin, as may most tend to the advantage of his Majesty, and the interest of his subjects of this kingdom, and the trade of it." The subject of the petition was postponed for consideration until the 26th day of October, on which day, after several divisions, the Government succeeded in defeating the object of the petitioners. Ambrose Congreve, who was at the head of a banking establishment in this city, and who had several times contested its representation, appeared to be the principal mover in this matter. His partner was Samuel Barker; and, in the following session, a petition being presented against them from several traders of Waterford, complaining that they had fraudulently obtained possession of ships and property lodged in the cellars of the French Church, belonging to the Messrs. Weeks, who had become bankrupts and absconded, the House took the matter into consideration, and appointed a committee, who brought in a report fully vindicating the fair fame and honourable dealings of Messrs. Congreve and Barker in this matter. In this report, which is published at full length in the Appendix to the Journal of the Irish House of Commons, frequent reference is made to the cellars adjoining to the French Church: and the following is a copy of an account rendered of some of the property contained in one of them, which is interesting as showing the relative value of the several articles contained therein at that time as compared with the present:—

GOODS IN THE CELLAR OF THE FRENCH CHURCH.

One Hogshead of Mountain, wanting five Gallons, ...	£8	4	7
Two Puncheons and One-half Spirits, 255 Gallons, @ 2s 6d, ...	31	17	6
Twenty-four Empty Casks, ...	4	10	0
One Puncheon, three Jars, and nine Bottles of Rum, ...	15	15	6
A Parcel of Oats, ...	6	8	4
A Parcel of Cheese, ...	7	3	4
Four Boxes of Lemons, almost rotten, ...	1	11	6
A small Parcel of Benecarlo and some old Hock, ..	4	6	0
A small Parcel of Straw Mats, ...	0	12	8
Three Firkins of Neat Tongues, 2½ dozen each, @ 6d, ...	2	5	0
A small Parcel of Train Oil, ...	10	7	1
167 Barrels of Salt, @ 7s, ...	37	9	0

The foregoing extracts prove that a spirit of commercial enterprise had enabled some of the refugees to acquire wealth and station; but in the manufacturing field they were also ever striving to win an honest independence. The original resolution of the Corporation embraced the idea of establishing a linen manufactory, for which the settlers had already become famous. Of the several

branches which had been introduced already into the North of Ireland, the manufacture of sail-cloth seemed the most suited for a commercial sea-port like Waterford, as well for consumption as for exportation; and after some little time a vigorous endeavour was made to establish this here.

Before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the English had purchased their largest supplies of sail-cloth from Brittany and Normandy. In 1681 the Company of Elders and Deacons of Thread-needle-street, in London, supplied funds for the erection of a linen manufactory at Ipswich, where a great number of French Protestants had colonised. A Huguenot of Paris, named Bonhomme, taught them to make sail-cloth; and in 1685 this manufacture was in full operation in that rising town, from whence it spread so rapidly, both in England and Ireland, that, according to Macpherson, the importations from France of this article were reduced, from the year 1683 to 1733, by the enormous amount of £500,000.

Louis Crommelin, to whose energy, activity, and skill, Ireland owes so much in the promotion of her linen manufacture, about this time, during his tour throughout Ireland, came to Waterford; and John Latrobe, one of his most active confederates, became a settler there, and was entrusted with the chief care of promoting the manufacture. His exertions were acknowledged by the Government, though in a far less degree than those of his friend and employer. In the Civil Incidents of the Treasury from 1715 to 1730, several small sums appear, as free grants, to John Latrobe, on account of adequate services rendered in promoting the flax and hempen manufactories in Leinster.

The degree of success which Crommelin had attained in Lisburn prompted him to extend his field of operations to the South; and to accomplish this he required a grant in aid from the Irish Parliament. Their Journal states that, on the 4th day of December, 1717—

"A petition of Louis Crommelin, gent. was presented to the House and read, setting forth—That the Petitioner, upon the encouragements given him by his late Majesty King William, of glorious memory, came into this kingdom to settle a manufactory of Linen Cloth, and fixed a colony for that purpose at Lisburn, in the North of Ireland, wherein, notwithstanding the many difficulties that attended the same, he succeeded beyond expectation, and by such means increased the trade of the nation in such a measure, and to such a degree, as the revenue and produce thereof is becoming very considerable, as appears by the great exportation every year; and the Petitioner considering that there are several branches of the said manufacture which may be set up in some parts of the kingdom, and tend to the great benefit, advantage, and support of a multitude of poor people, and will be of great benefit to this kingdom in particular and to Great Britain in general, upon a suitable encouragement, the Petitioner, therefore, most humbly offers to set up and carry on the Hempen manufacture of Sail-cloth, of the growth of this country, in such a place or part of the kingdom as the House shall think most proper, being well assured of the same success therein as he had in the former, which will prove no less, if not more beneficial and advantageous to both nations." On reading this, it was ordered—"That the consideration of the said petition be referred to the Committee appointed to inspect the state of the Linen manufacture, and that they do examine the matter thereof, and report the same, with their opinion therein, to the House, and that all members have voice who come." Accordingly the committee met, and, on Dec. 10, 1717,

Mr. Ward reported the following resolutions:—

Resolved—"That it is the opinion of this Committee that settling manufactures of Hempen Sail-cloth in proper places would be highly advantageous to this kingdom."

Resolved—"That it is the opinion of this Committee that Lewis Crommelin is a proper person to be employed in making settlements of the manufacture of Hempen Sail-cloth, in such places as the Trustees for improving the Hempen and Flaxen manufacture shall appoint, and subject to their directions."

Resolved—"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty that he will be graciously pleased to order £1000 a year for the space of two years, to be paid to the Trustees for managing the Hempen and Flaxen manufacture, pursuant to the said Address of this House last session, whereby they may be enabled the better to promote the said manufactures."

Ordered—"That such members of this House as are of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, do attend his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, with the said Address, and desire his Grace will be pleased to lay the same before his Majesty as the Address of this House."

A Committee being appointed to make further inquiry on this interesting subject, presented the following report:—

"Your Committee find that the Trustees have, by their encouragement, promoted two very considerable manufactories for Sail-cloth in the Southern parts of this kingdom, at Rathkeale and Cork; and we find that the Trustees have now proposals before them from merchants of considerable substance in England, for setting up another Hempen manufactory in the county of Waterford, the expense of which will amount to a considerable sum."

Louis Crommelin had already received large sums.

In the account of the several sums of money for which the Vice-Treasurers have claimed credit as being paid by them for the use of the Hempen and Linen manufacture, in the year 1703, appears the following:—

"Paid the Earl of Abercorn and other Trustees of the Linen Manufacture, to be paid by them over to Mr. Louis Crommelin for erecting looms for weaving fine Linen Cloth, &c., ... £430 0 0."

In the year 1705—

"Paid Mr. Louis Crommelin, Overseer of the Linen Manufacture, to complete the allowance due to him and his three assistants, for one year and three quarters, to Dec. 1704, by king's letters £470 12 0."

"1705—Paid the Trustees appointed by her Majesty for carrying on the Linen Manufacture, and by them paid over to Mr. Louis Crommelin, on account thereof, to the 25th Dec., 1704, ...£1515 9 8."

"More to be paid over to Sir Thomas Southwell, for several pieces of Sail-cloth, and to William Crommelin, assistant to Louis Crommelin, his salary to 25th Dec., 1704, ... £337 18 8½."

"1711.—Joseph Beaumont, on account of his services to the Linen Manufacture, ... £100 0 0.

"1713.—More to be paid him, ... £100 0 0.

"1715.—Louis Cromlin, ... £10 6 2.

"1715.—John Latrobe, Waterford, ... £8 4 11½

"1719. Do. do. 10 3 11½

"1720. Do. do. 7 9 1¼

"1721. Do. do. ... ... 8 2 11½."

On the 4th day of August 1719, the Irish Parliament, in a Committee of Ways and Means, voted the following duties, to increase the revenue:—"An additional duty on Tea of 12d. per lb.; Coffee, 3d. per lb.; and Chocolate 3d. per lb.; to commence the 1st of September next following." These increased duties were for the purpose of promoting the linen manufactures in the South. Leave was given to bring in the Bill, and it was ordered—

"That it be an instruction to the Committee to insert a clause or clauses in the said heads of a Bill, for applying the duties laid on tea, coffee, chocolate, and cocoa-nuts, for the use and encouragement of the Hempen and Flaxen manufactures."

The Bill passed on the 7th of August following, and a portion of the money thus raised was immediately applied for increasing the linen trade in Waterford, and establishing the sail-cloth factory. Some few sessions after, a committee of the House were appointed to report on the progress of the works; on the 8th of December, 1725, they made their report, one portion of which stated as follows:—

"Your Committee observe that the Trustees of the Hempen and Flaxen Manufactories have en-

couraged the setting up a new manufacture for hempen sail-cloth, at Rathbridge, in the county of Kildare, and that this and the two manufactories at Cork, and one at Waterford, are in an improving way."

Mr. Maxwell, who was chairman of this Committee, further reported on the same day respecting Waterford:—

"That an arrear of £499 1s. 9d. was due to the Hempen manufactory of Waterford."

This trade, which was carried on at first with so much energy and ability, after some little time again languished; but in the year 1746, a vigorous attempt was again made to resuscitate it, and this was mainly owing to the personal exertion of a noble descendant of the Refugees. Dr. Chenevix, who but the year before had been appointed to the See, desiring to assist and foster those who were, like himself, "the sons of the strangers," interested his patron and benefactor, the witty and urbane Philip Earl of Chesterfield (who had just been appointed Lord Lieutenant) in the linen manufacture of Waterford, and induced him to give it his patronage. From a residence in his diplomatic capacity at the Hague, where Doctor Chenevix was his chaplain, Lord Chesterfield had been enabled to judge of the great advantages derived by Holland from the manufactures of the refugees; and immediately active measures were undertaken to accomplish a revival of business in the city where his friend had undertaken the episcopal charge. An enterprising and skilful employer, named Patrick Smith, was induced, with his family, to remove from Belfast to Waterford. The entire expense of their transplantation was defrayed by the Trustees for promoting the Linen Manufacture, and an annual payment made to them of £300 per annum, until the looms were in full operation. Two Dutch families of French descent were brought over to instruct in the making of tapes and bobbins; and fifty Protestant families were conveyed from the North of Ireland, most of them, if not all, descendants of the Huguenot settlers in Lisburn and Dundalk.

The extent of the operations of this family may be gathered from the petition which was presented by them to the House of Commons, on the 24th of January, 1758, when a sum not exceeding £2,000 was voted to them as an assistance in their undertaking; and a second petition on the 3rd of Nov., 1761, which embodies the substance of the former one. It was as follows:—

"A Petition of Patrick Smith, Arthur Smith, Chalmers Smith, Mary Smith, Sarah Smith, Jane Smith, Anne Smith, Agatha Cornelia Smith, Mary Smith, junr., Elinor Smith, Elizabeth Smith, and Helena Amelia Smith, of the city of Waterford, linen thread, tape, bobbin and boss manufacturers, was presented to the House and read, setting forth:—That, in year 1746, Petitioners, Patrick Smith and his family, consisting of his wife, four sons, and eight daughters, countenanced by the Earl of Chesterfield, and encouraged by the Right Honourable and Honourable the Trustees of the Linen Manufacture, removed from Belfast to Waterford, in order to introduce and establish the Linen Manufacture in the South; and by giving encouragement there, prevailed on fifty Protestant families to settle there. That Petitioners, Patrick and Arthur Smith, by their contract with the Trustees, were allowed £501 15s. 0d., to defray the expense of removing themselves and the colony they carried with them, and to purchase looms and other

machines, and were to receive for the support of their family, from the year 1746, to 1750, £300 annually; for the year 1750, £250; and for every year after, during contract, £200 annually. The poor in that city being inured to sloth and idleness rendered the undertaking very difficult; but by the industry and perseverance of petitioners the intention of the Trustees to raise a spirit of industry was so effectually answered, that though there were only 297 hanks of yarn spun in the first year, there were in the second 2,958, in the third 18,748, and a great increase in proportion since. As the greatest part of the petitioner's family consisted of females, who could not be profitably employed in other branches of the linen manufacture, they, in the year 1750, on £100 being given by the Trustees, began the thread manufacture, by which a great number of hands, before useless to, and a burthen on, the public, are constantly and usefully employed. This branch has been so much improved and extended that, from 378lbs. manufactured in the year 1750, they manufactured no less than 4,511 pounds, 4 ounces, from 3d. to 32s. per ounce, and would have increased so as to have exported greater quantities could they have extended their credit to obtain a fund for that purpose. That petitioners, attentive to every measure by which the linen manufacture might be extended, and themselves rendered worthy the bountiful encouragement of the public, and on being well informed of the great advantages arising to the Dutch by their exports of thread, tape, and bobbins to England, and having, on examining the books of entries in the custom-house of London, found that from the 11th of September, 1752, to the 15th of October following, not less than £11,917 12s. value (on a moderate calculation) of thread, tape, bobbin, and inkle, was imported and entered from France, Holland, and Hamburg, they did, in the year 1752, at very great expense, attempt the manufactures of tape and bobbin, which great undertaking they supported till all the apparatus was complete, by borrowing from time to time such sums as were necessary, and receiving from the Dublin Society £500 to help them till a more suitable bounty could be obtained. That, in 1757, petitioners petitioned the Honourable House of Commons, who were pleased, on the merits of the petitioners being fully proved, to grant £2,000 to enable petitioners to continue their useful design, till an opportunity should offer for receiving such aid as might enable them to carry it into full execution. That, at this time the Dutch, jealous of being rivalled in so valuable a branch of their trade, reduced the price of threads, tapes, and bobbins, so low that petitioners, for want of a sufficient fund to carry them on in an extensive manner, could derive no advantage from what they manufactured, though they had borrowed the sum of £10,000, £3,384 13s. 8½d. of that sum being sunk in buildings, erecting mills, looms, and machines, and in payments to two Dutch families for instruction in the art of manufacturing tapes and bobbins; which, joined to the rents they pay, swallowed up the profits on the remaining sum, which was employed in manufacturing; and, as petitioners' credit is in England, they have within these two years, on the supplies being raised to carry on the war, been obliged to pay in near £3,000, on their creditors demanding it, by which petitioners are greatly distressed, and many of their machines useless for want of money to work them.

"That petitioners, knowing the manufactures could not be established in their full utility to the public till the husbandmen were led into the cultivation of their land for raising flax, did, in 1758, plan a scheme for raising a fund for premiums, which scheme was laid before several noblemen and gentlemen, and the Earls of Grandison, Tyrone, Besborough, and Donegal, the Lords Loftus and Bereford, the Lord Bishop of Waterford, the Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons, subscribed to it; the scheme was published and a society appointed to direct the payment according to the merits of the claimants; and in 1759 premiums were given on 1,032 stone weight of flax, and 2,651 hanks of yarn spun of said flax and sold at the public market; and in 1760, the quantity increased to 2,109 stone weight of flax, and 5,059 hanks of

yarn; and petitioners are hereby of opinion that, by continuing the premiums two or three years, the raising flax may become of great use by being more generally used in the South. That, in March 1759, petitioners were applied to by the most considerable dealers in London for their threads, tapes, and bobbin, the additional duties on importation of those articles from foreigners being so heavy, they would have engaged for very considerable quantities from petitioners, who, for want of a sufficient sum to increase their manufactures, were obliged to decline accepting a proposal so advantageous to the public and themselves. How exactly petitioners have fulfilled the engagements to the Trustees they hereby refer themselves to that honourable Board, and for the happy consequences that have arisen from their settlement in the South they would appeal to the gentlemen of that country, particularly in Waterford and its neighbourhood, who know how different the state of that country is from what it was before they settled in it. Petitioners' works have been seen by several gentlemen of rank and fortune, who were pleased to express their satisfaction at seeing so great an undertaking under the direction of so numerous a family; the apparatus petitioners now have would employ 1,417 men, women, and children, in spinning, winding, weaving, spooling, skeaning, and bleaching, besides those employed in raising the flax and preparing it for spinning. But, amidst all the advantages arising from the industry of petitioners, whose time and industry has for fifteen years been entirely devoted to the introduction and establishment of these manufactures, they, from innumerable losses and disappointments necessarily attending the introduction of infant manufactories, have been unavoidably led into the disbursements of very large sums, a burthen under which they must infallibly sink unless timely support is offered them by the public. Petitioners, therefore, most humbly entreat the House to take their case into consideration, and to grant them such relief and assistance as to its great wisdom shall seem fit."

On the petition being read, it was referred to a committee consisting of Lord Beresford, member for Coleraine; Mr. Le Hunte, member for Wexford; and some others; to be considered on the Friday following. The committee accordingly met, and prepared the following report, which was handed into the House on the 9th of November:—

Report of Committee handed in, November 9, 1761, by Lord Beresford.

"Mr. Speaker,—The Committee appointed to examine the matter of the petition of Patrick Smith and several others, of the city of Waterford, linen thread, tape, bobbin, and boss manufacturers, have accordingly examined and considered the matter to them referred, and have desired me to report the same, as it appeared to them, with their opinion thereupon, to the House, which is as follows:—

"Arthur Smith being sworn, said—That the family, consisting of fourteen, removed from the North to Waterford in 1746, to introduce and carry on the linen manufacture, by encouragement of the Linen Board. That, when the family first came to Waterford, there was little or no appearance of the linen manufacture in that country. That they brought about fifty Protestant families, who were mostly employed by the Smiths in the linen manufacture. That the encouragement from the Linen Board was not sufficient to establish the manufacture in that country. That there were not more than 300 hanks of yarn to be bought when they first came to Waterford, which would not make more than five pieces of linen. That near 5,000 pieces of cloth have been made in and about the city of Waterford this last year, to the value of between £10,000 and £12,000. That they purchased flax and sold it in pounds and small parcels to encourage spinners, which increased the spinning to 3,000 hanks the next year; and it has increased every year since, so that this year the family bought 6,000 hanks, besides what others have bought, which may amount to as much more,

That several persons of property have engaged in this manufacture since the family came to Waterford. That they now carry on the making of linens, tapes, bobbins, boss, and thread, &c. That there would be great demand for tapes, &c., from England and the plantations, if they could undersell the Dutch. That the family are at great expense in setting up the apparatus for this manufacture of tapes, &c. That they have had application made to them by considerable dealers in London to furnish them with tapes and bobbins; that they would contract for £10,000 worth yearly, if they could be afforded as cheap as the Dutch. That the family wanting a sufficient capital, is the reason they cannot extend it to a greater degree. That there are two kinds of tapes made by this family that are not made by any others in this kingdom. That it would take £9,000 to employ the machines already erected for these manufactures, and to supply them constantly with materials. That about £4,500 is now employed in these manufactures by this family, and £5,200 has been expended in setting up the manufacture. That they cannot have a return in less than seven months, and for a great part in not less than thirteen months, and they must pay ready money for all the materials. That Parliamentary aid could procure them credit, so as to extend the manufacture greatly, and give the family a reasonable profit. That if all the machines were constantly at work upwards of 1400 persons might be usefully employed. That they could not enter into such contracts as have been proposed to them from England, by the most considerable dealers in these articles, unless they are encouraged by Parliament."

It was resolved by the House, on the motion of the Committee—"That the Petitioner proved the allegation of the petition. That the Petitioner deserves the aid of Parliament. That the report be referred to the Committee of Supply."

Following the example of the Smiths, some of the inhabitants of the city and its neighbourhood entered upon the same speculation, and sought to revive the trade, and to receive a subsidy from the Parliament in aid of the undertaking. On the Kilkenny side, John Green, Esq., of Greenville, petitioned, praying aid, and described himself as the first founder of the linen manufacture in the county of Kilkenny. His petition is dated the 3rd of Nov., 1755, and he describes it as "flourishing and extending itself with great credit." The year following brought a similar petition from Robert Snow, of Waterford; it is thus recorded:— "13th March, 1756.—A petition of Robert Snow, of the city of Waterford, linen manufacturer and bleacher, praying aid and encouragement, was presented to the House, and read, and referred to Committee.—March 14th, 1756." The Committee reported—"That Petitioner had proved his allegation, and deserved aid and encouragement; and referred to a Committee of the whole House."

For many years this manufacture was a staple trade in this city, and its guild one of the wealthiest and most prosperous. To Louis Crommelin and John Latrobe in the first instance, to Bishop Chenevix in the next, Waterford was indebted for it as a source of industrial employment. Since the invention of power-looms it has completely vanished. A few years ago a manufactory of sail-cloth was attempted, but was soon given up as a failure; and now, in the cloister of the Franciscan Abbey, and close beside the French Church, a manufacture of coarse tarpaulin-cloth and bacon-wrapping is all that remains of this important trade, which was once so flourishing, and which had gathered together so large a number of the Huguenot congregation of the Rev. James Denis.

His hearers were not, however, confined to the industrious classes above referred to. The medical profession in Waterford, at this time, was well represented by two worthy members of it, both of whom appear to have belonged to the little band, who preferred freedom of religious opinions and a quiet home amongst a strange people, to an abode in the land they loved, but where their conscience was at the will of a despot or of his bigotted advisers, who would not even allow a Huguenot physician to follow his profession. The names of those two worthies were, Dr. Peter De Rante, and Doctor Jacques Reynette. The former had married into the Alcock family, who were chief rulers in the Corporation, and to him was entrusted the care of the sick poor throughout the entire city; for which the munificent (!) salary of £10 per annum was voted to him by the Council. On the 28th of July, 1722, when a fit of economy had seized the burgomasters, the French minister's allowance was thrown out by the learned forty who composed this body, and who were styled by the wags "the forty thieves;" and, at the same time, Dr. De Rante, "the French doctor," was also superseded; but in the following year the doctor again seems to have made friends, for he was restored at Michaelmas, 1723. His first wife was taken from him soon after his marriage. A large stone slab covers her remains in the French Church, with the following inscription :—

"Mary De Rant, alias ALCOCK,
died ye 17th of January, 1716, aged 33 years."

The baptisms of several of his children, by the Rev. J. Denis, are also recorded.

Mary Alcock was not, however, long mourned over. On the 5th of December, 1717, Doctor Peter De Rante and Miss Anne Pyke were united together in holy matrimony, by Mr. Dean Eeles, in the Cathedral, and the widower was comforted. But his first love claimed him back again, when he was summoned to his last resting place; for on the 27th of January, 1756, Doctor Peter De Rante was laid beside her in the southern angle of the choir of the French Church.

Of Doctor Jacques Reynette we have even less to say. The family tradition tells that he was but a boy when, with his father, he fled from Languedoc. The family estates were claimed and restored in after years to a senior branch. The parish register records that—

"Jan. 23rd 1720.—Doctor James Reynette was buried by Mr. Denis in the French Church."

Some months before, his daughter was provided for to his satisfaction: the following is the entry in the register :—"July, 23rd 1719. Captain John Ramsay and Miss Charlotta Reynette, both of Saint Michael's parish, were married by Mr. Jacob Denis in Doctor Reynette's house." The name of Ramsay was well known in connection with Waterford, for many years after, through most parts of Ireland; as *Ramsay's Waterford Chronicle*, one of the first provincial newspapers established in Ireland, owes its origin to Captain Ramsay's son; and it is a singular circumstance that the second Waterford Newspaper was also started by the descendant of another of the refugees, Mr. Fleury. The good old doctor's descendants, in the succeeding generations, have served both Church and State, and served them well. They still remain, settled in Waterford or near it.

Amongst them, this day we have a worthy alderman, a skilful physician, and a brave Peninsular officer, who still can tell of the story "sent down from sire to son,"—how Louvois' tyranny drove forth the first of their name to Ireland as an alien and a stranger; and in the collateral branches are many "brave striplings and bright-eyed maidens," all of whom claim as their progenitor the brave old man whose family left rich estates and personal property behind for conscience' sake.

In the record of the Bishop's Visitation, both Doctors (or, as they are termed, Chirurgeons) De Rante and Reynette, made their yearly appearance before the Ordinary, to render a good and true account of their labours during the preceding twelve months, and we doubt not partook of his lordship's hospitality. We can well imagine the long canes, well powdered wigs, and courtly bows with which they paid their ceremonious respects, according to the most approved style of the court and age of Louis XIV.

The foregoing records sufficiently attest the fact that "the Refugees," for the first half century of their settlement in Waterford, maintained a distinguished position both in Church and State; that manufactures and commerce flourished in their hands; that the learned professions were well represented; and that literature was also their debtor. It would seem that several of the Williamite officers of the Huguenot soldiery fixed their abode here about the same time. In the Appendix to the Journal of the Irish House of Commons, in the year 1719, a return is made and signed by Theophilus Desbrisac, of the different pensions which had fallen in from the French troops, and also of those who were placed upon the pension list: amongst those settled in Waterford one was—"James D'Augier, who died in Waterford, Sept. 11, 1718—pension, £27 7s 6d." Lieut. D'Augier was one of Ruvigny's soldiers in 1711. He was taken off the pension list, but restored in 1713 by letters from her Majesty Queen Anne.

Peter Chelar, who had been quarter-master to Lord Galway's horse, Captain du Chesne of the same regiment, Captain Abraham Franquefort, of the Piedmont army, Captain John Vaury, who afterwards removed to Portarlington, Captain Louis Belafaye, all veterans of King William's victorious army, appear to have made Waterford their resting-place. The parochial registry assists us also in tracing some others. The following are extracts:—

"February 18, 1708.—Susannah, wife of Lieut. Emmanuel Toupelin Delize, was buried by Mr. Denis in the French Church."

"April 14, 1708.—Thomas, the son of Captain Louis Duschenne, and Catherine his wife, was buried in the French Church by Mr. Bolton."

"January 27, 1710.—Blount, the son of Captain Louis Belafaye, and Mrs. Martha his wife, was baptized by Mr. Bolton in Alderman Graves' house."

"Sept. 25, 1712.—Mary, the daughter of Mr. Francis Delaville, and Jane his wife, baptized."

Lieutenant Besard De Lamaindre settled shortly after: and Major Santelle, whose descendants, through his daughter Mary Santelle, are extremely numerous, all claiming the right of laying their

bones beside the gallant old soldier in the French Church—all proud of their French descent, and reckoned amongst the most valued and respected citizens in Waterford.

But while many of the refugees attained to comfort and wealth, there were some of them also in indigent circumstances; for even such are the "changes and chances" of this mortal life. The poorer brethren of the household—the infirm, the widow, and the orphan—were not, however, forgotten by their own countrymen, who were "willing to give and glad to distribute" of their abundance. In the Registry of the Wills in the Prerogative Office, Dublin, are found the following pleasing reminiscences of their charity:—

"1719. John Vaury, Esq., bequeathed to the French Church of Waterford, £10."

"1732. Mrs. Ab. Sandoz, to the poor French of Waterford, £5."

"1738. Peter Chelar, to the French Church in Waterford, £10."

Although no other bequests appear on record, we may well suppose that the church maintained its own poor, and that the widows were not forgotten in the daily distribution. For the orphans there was no occasion to fear, inasmuch as the French settlers were all of them freemen of the city; and under the 129th section of the City Charter the Mayor, Sheriff, and Citizens of Waterford were a "Court of Orphans," obliged to undertake the guardianship in like manner as the City of London, and empowered to allocate £6 per annum from the stock purse for the maintenance and education of each child entrusted to their charge. From this enactment and practice no doubt was first suggested the idea of establishing the City of Waterford Protestant Orphan Asylum. It is creditable to the citizens that their Protestant Orphan Society should be the first established in Ireland. It is no less creditable to the French Protestant Refugees that their last pastor should, amongst his other charitable benefactions, have bequeathed to it the endowment by which an apprentice fee is provided for the little inmates of the Asylum as soon as they have become of suitable age to be placed out to a trade or profession, and learn how to earn a livelihood with honest independence. The name of this benefactor was the Rev. Peter Augustus Franquefort. Previous, however, to his appointment, we have mention made of three others who succeeded Mr. Denis in the ministry. The first, the Rev. Guidon Richion, of whom the mention made is very trivial; and equally so appear the records respecting the Rev. George Dobier,—some few were baptized, or married or buried by them,—the same tale is repeated—and then their names disappear with the generation amongst whom they had ministered. The Rev. Daniel Sandoz and the Rev. Josiah Franquefort, who were both of French descent, although occasionally officiating in the French Church, do not appear in the Visitation records as officially connected with it. They were both licensed for the curacy of Saint Olave's. The former subsequently received a valuable preferment in the diocese of Waterford, and was also one of the prebendaries of Lismore. The Rev. Josiah Franquefort, who is buried with his wife in the nave of the abbey, which forms the entrance to the French Church, appears to have been active about schools, and desirous of promoting Scriptural education.

In 1761 the Rev. Augustus Devoree appears in the Visitation book as having duly presented himself before his ordinary, as pastor of the French Church. It does not seem that he fared as well as his predecessors in the way of Church emolument; the account of his stewardship had reference simply to the French Church, and no rich prebend fell to his lot which might make his circumstances easy and secure.

The name of the Rev. Augustus Devoree appears frequently in several parochial registries, generally performing an official service for those whose names tell their origin, and whose parochial residence caused them to be married in their parish church or buried in their parochial cemetery. We have the several surnames—D'Maison, Blanche, Coquin, Denis, Latrobe, Dermozan, Dugay, Marcel, and Chenevix, amongst those to whom Mr. Devoree administered the rites of the church: but the last parochial entry connected with his name establishes the fact, that he did not confine his ministry to his Gallic brethren; and a pair of fond Milesians appear to have been made happy under his hand, on the 8th Dec. 1761. This is the entry—"William Barry and Mary Murphy, both of St. John's, married Dec. 8, 1761, in the French Church, by the Rev. Augustus Devoree." Such was Waterford a century ago: to-day Mr. Devoree was burying Claude Marcel and Antoine D'Maison, and to-morrow he united in the bands of holy wedlock a happy pair of Hibernians, rejoicing in the unromantic names of Bill Barry and Moll Murphy. The Barrys and the Murphys are with us still, like our native Shamrocks, green on every hill: the Devorees, Marcels, and D'Maisons have all long since withered from the soil, which seemed to prefer the hardy native before the rich and rare exotic.

It appears strange, that the Rev. Augustus Devoree did not succeed as well as his predecessors in the way of Church preferment; and it is the more singular, from the fact that the see of Waterford was at this time filled by Bishop Chenevix, who was translated thither from Killaloe on the 15th of January, 1745-6. The exertions of this bishop on behalf of the humbler refugees has been already alluded to; but he was one who, like his Master, "went about doing good." He is described as a man "of great singleness of heart and benevolence." Mr. Devoree's death must have been the cause which prevented his promotion by one whose entire sympathies were called forth on behalf of the descendants of the foreign settlers from France, as he himself claimed to be a scion of the same honoured stock. Dr. Chenevix, as before stated, was undoubtedly of French extraction: his family settled in England immediately after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; he himself had been Chaplain to the British Embassy at the Hague, when Lord Chesterfield was Ambassador, and had much intercourse with the Huguenots. When that nobleman was appointed Lord Lieutenant, Dr. Chenevix accompanied him as first Chaplain, and was promoted in 1745 to the Bishopric of Killaloe, and translated, in the following year, to Waterford and Lismore. His episcopate lasted for thirty-five years; and his name will be ever held in honoured remembrance by the clergy, from the memorial which he has left them to his memory. By his will, dated August 13th, 1777, he be-

queathed the sum of £1600 to the diocese of Waterford, the interest to be given to the widows of clergymen of that diocese. He also left £1000 to the diocese of Lismore. A Bishop and his clergy, of Waterford, in the preceding century, had welcomed the Protestants of France, and had rendered them a kind and courteous greeting; a fitting return was now made by a bishop who was himself a descendant of the refugees, in providing for the widows of his fellow pastors. During the period of Bishop Chenevix's episcopacy many of the ablest sons of the refugees were drawn around him, and many of them received well deserved promotion. John Jaumard was Archdeacon of Lismore; William Grueber was first Chancellor, then Treasurer, and afterwards the Precentor of the same cathedral; Henry Gervais was Vicar Choral, and subsequently Treasurer; Daniel Sandoz was prebendary of Mora; Philip Chenevix, prebendary of Kilgobinet; and on his promotion to the chancellor's stall in Waterford, George Lewis Fleury succeeded him. On Mr. Fleury's exchange for the Treasurership, Peter Augustus Franquefort, who had been Treasurer, became the possessor of it. James Grueber and Arthur Grueber became successively prebendaries for Kilrosantie; and William Grueber was prebendary for Modeligo. Antoine Fleury, whose reputation is, "that he was the crossest man in Ireland," succeeded Gervais as Vicar Choral, when the latter was made Archdeacon of Cashel; and in 1773, George Lewis Fleury was appointed Archdeacon of Waterford, after the dignity had remained dormant and the stall unfilled from the year 1667.

About the same time, the French settlers in Waterford, who had been diminishing by death, removal, and their gradual merging amongst the inhabitants by intermarriage, and by the adopting of their language and habits, expected to have received a large accession from the continent. A number of Genevese, many of them French settlers, had become dissatisfied with their own city, and expressed a desire to become domesticated in Ireland, and to employ themselves in the manufactures by which they obtained their livelihood. The men of "82" and the Parliament of "82" were glad to encourage a movement which would resuscitate the trade and manufacture of the south; and accordingly, under the viceroyalty of the Earl of Northington, and subsequently, of the Duke of Rutland, measures were adopted to facilitate their removal. A Board of Commissioners was appointed forthwith; the neighbourhood of Waterford appeared the most suitable position to plant them; and the village of New Geneva was planned as their home, on the banks of the Suir, and about six miles from the city, in the parish of Kil St. Nicholas, which was then, as now, ministered to by a descendant of one of the refugees. From the Accountant-General's balance-sheet, submitted to the House in 1784, we learn that the money voted for the settlement was originally £50,000, but subsequently increased nearly by £6,000 more; and that the lands of New Geneva were purchased from the Alcock family, at this time the leaders of the Corporation of Waterford. Under date October 1st, 1783, we find the following entry:—

"Paid the Commissioners for settling in Ireland a colony of Emigrants from Geneva, in further part of £50,000

net, making £55,855 2s 8½d gross, granted them to defray the expenses of carrying the plans prepared for the settlement into execution, by three warrants, dated 7th June, 1783, 29th Sept. 1783, and 15th Dec. 1784."

Farther on, in the same account, appears the following entry:—

"1784, July 8th—Paid the Commissioners for settling in Ireland a colony of Emigrants from Geneva, to be by them applied in effecting the purchase of the interest of Alexander Alcock, Esq., and others, in the lands of Knockroe, and other lands in the county of Waterford, £12,796 14s 3½d."

Farther on we have the account of the works:—

"Oct. 1788,—Paid William Kendy and J. Donnellan, contractors for building the town of New Geneva, on account of the extra expenses and loss they sustained by the unexpected stop put to the building of the said Town, in further part of £55,855 2s 8½d gross, granted for the building and settling the said Town; Warrant, 29th Jan., 1788. £310 17s 1d."

"Paid the Right Honourable James Cuffe, in consideration of his trouble, attendance, and expense, in superintending and overseeing the works of New Geneva, in further part of £55,855 2s 8½d, granted for the building and settling the said Town, £465 10s 9d—Warrant, 27th March, 1788."

"Paid William Gibson, architect, for conducting the works at the said Town, on further account of the said letter, Warrant, 10th July, 1788, £207 16s 1d."

In the Account of Arrears remaining undischarged, Lady-day, 1788, appears the following entry:—

"The Commissioners for settling in Ireland a colony of Emigrants from Geneva, a balance of £55,855 2s 8½d gross, granted them to defray the expenses of the said settlement, £33,088 11s 0¼d."

And the following Report was presented to the House in 1789:—

Extract from Report of the Committee on the Comparative State of the Public Expenses, for the year ending Lady-day, 1789.

"It appearing to your Committee that there was no intention of carrying into effect the settlement of a colony of Emigrants from Geneva on the lands of Knockroe, now called New Geneva, in this kingdom, your Committee came to the following resolution:—Resolved—That it is the opinion of this Committee that the sum of £32,519 18s 5d, balance remaining unapplied of £55,855 2s 8½d, granted to certain Committees for settling in Ireland a colony of Emigrants from Geneva, be deducted from the Arrears."

The reason why the Government abandoned this plan of emigration, after incurring an immense expenditure, seems unaccountable; but unforeseen difficulties had arisen before the plan was fully matured. The few Genevese who had come over as pioneers, regarded the undertaking with no agreeable feelings, and soon became discontented. The South of Ireland, at the period of which we speak, was far different from either Switzerland or the sunny South of France; and the silver Suir, although so beautiful to the gaze of the burgomasters and citizens of Waterford and Clonmel, was a different stream from the bright blue lake which watered the homes of their fatherland. Some few emigrated and others returned home; one or two of them removed to Waterford; and after a short period the Government turned their factories into barracks, which are still known by the name of New Geneva, and in which, during the war, strong reinforcements were continually kept up and shipped in transports to the Peninsula. They are now a ruin.

The fate of one of the chief leaders of these Genevese settlers was a melancholy one. His name was Monsieur Clavière; he was a man of independent means, and great commercial ability, but in political matters a disciple of Rousseau. His house, which was afterwards the abode of the French

minister Franquefort, is still standing in Colbeck Street; it is now the residence of the registrar of the diocese, James Lorenzo Hickie, Esq., to whom it came through intermarriage with one of the Briscoe family. On the fall of the Bourbons, Clavière's republican tastes and fancies incited him to remove to Paris, where he soon after became Minister of Finance under the Jacobins; but his elevation was short-lived, and Clavière was one of the earliest victims of the guillotine.

The members of the French congregation, although recruited by these few accessions, were now gradually dwindling away; but still the services were conducted with all decorum, and the flock were fed by their good old pastor. In 1762 Augustus Devoree died, and Peter Augustus Franquefort took upon him the charge, which he kept for 57 years. He died in Dec., 1819, and was buried in the French Church, beside the remains of his uncle, the Rev. Josiah Franquefort, and surrounded by the ashes of the people whom he had baptised, and married, and buried, during his lengthened ministry. They had given him many a proof of grateful affection during his lifetime; but at his death few of them were left to say a kind word of him that was gone, and to breathe the solemn Amen in the silent choir, (which was even then becoming a ruin,) as his dear friend Archdeacon Fleury read over his remains the beautifully expressive words—

"Où est, ô mort! ta victoire? Où est, ô sepulcre! ton aiguillon? Graces à Dieu, qui nous a donné la victoire par nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ."

Mr. Franquefort's ministry commenced at the beginning of the reign of George III., and reached to its very close. He lived to hear of the dreadful excesses of the French Revolution, and the gigantic despotism of Napoleon; and, ere he died, the field of Waterloo was won, and France lay humbled to the dust. In 1803 many of the descendants of the refugees returned to France, and laid claim to the paternal estates of which they had been dispossessed. An elder branch of the Franquefort family was settled in La Rochelle, and the French minister crossed over to interchange a kindly greeting with his cousin, Colonel Franquefort. He had scarcely landed, however, ere he was made a prisoner of war, as the hollow truce between the countries was brought to a speedy termination; and it was not till some months had elapsed that he was released, through the interference of his relative. He was passed over to England, but hardly had he set his foot on London bridge ere he was again laid hold of, at this time accused of being a French spy; nor could William Pitt's emissaries be persuaded that such was not the fact, until Sir John Newport, the member for the city of Waterford, enlightened them by the information that their valuable prize was a simple French minister, who was entrusted with the care of a little flock within the walls of the old city which Sir John himself so efficiently represented. Great was the rejoicing on his return; the joy bells of the French tower rang out cheerily; and one mercurial friend of his is described as having danced a *pirouette* round him.

Many amusing stories are told by some of the old inhabitants respecting Claude Soubermont, (or, as they termed him, "Johnny Brumo") who acted for many years as clerk to Mr. Franquefort:

pleasing ones, also, respecting Le Grediere. Souberment, as the violinist of the city, was the *sine qua non* at every social reunion. Mr. Franquefort, that is the Rev. Peter Augustus Franquefort, (for we must draw a distinction between Peter Augustus and his cousin Peter James) is described as a man of great single-mindedness, benevolence, and piety, a learned scholar, and yet as simple as a child. So conscientious was he in the discharge of his duty, that when the roof of the French Church fell in, some short time before his death, and no vestry cess could be raised for its restoration, he has been known to attend on the wettest days in winter, and perform the ritual to his *confrères*, Claude Souberment, and Jean Legrediere, the latter some times protecting his venerable head with a capacious umbrella. The services were for a short time after performed in the vestry; but at last, until Mr. Franquefort's death, a morning service was conducted at St. Olave's Church: it was then but thinly attended. The clerk who succeeded Souberment at that period, a young and smart *garçon*, and a protégé of Mr. Franquefort's, is still living, growing to be an old man in appearance now, but as vivacious and frolicksome as ever. He still attends St. Olave's Church, and, as a worshipper, reads from his French prayer-book, while those around him pray in the vulgar tongue. He is the sole surviving member of the flock; and should any reader at any time visit Waterford, and desire an hour's entertainment, Charlie Taylor will wile away the time most pleasantly, with pleasing anecdotes and funny stories, respecting Louis Perrin, Monsieur Ponseaux, Jean Petipres, Jean Roquet, John Frank, Mademoiselle Latour, Doctor Tournere, Francois Adderle, and Monsieur Martel; but most gladly will his tongue wag as he discourses of the two great heads of the French descendants, the Rev. Peter Augustus Franquefort, and the venerable Archdeacon George Lewis Fleury, or, as he is still called, "the good old Archdeacon," and pleasurably also of one who has but lately passed away from the honourable post of Clerk of the Peace of the county, which he for more than half a century so ably filled. There lived not within the city a man of more simple piety, single-heartedness, and honest worth; there died not one who was more respected and regretted by men of every class and creed; and there was not a fitter specimen of the character of the descendants of the refugees than Bartholomew D'Landre, of Waterloo. His name yet lives in the person of his worthy son and sturdy grandsons, and their proudest boast is that Huguenot blood flows through their veins.

The intimacy between the Fleurys and Franquefort's would seem to have dated from an early period, as their grandfathers both served under Colonel La Bouchetriére, whose dragoons rendered King William such signal service. Captain Franquefort commanded a troop under him, and the Rev. Philip Amaury Fleury was chaplain. An antique silver cup is now in the possession of Captain John Franquefort Fleury, of Waterford, out of which King William is said to have drunk at the Battle of the Boyne. It is preserved by the gallant captain with almost religious veneration. The Communion-cup belonging to the French Church is also an interesting relic, bearing on it the inscription *Ecclesiæ des François Waterford*, and appearing to be nearly two hundred years old.

It remained in the possession of the Rev. Richard Chenevix Fleury, of Dunmore, until his recent death, and is now in the keeping of the Rev. Bartholomew Labarte, his successor. Beside me, as I write, is a treasured relic—"Le Noveau Testament," printed in Paris, by Anthoine Cellier, in 1668, with Clement Marot's "Pseaumes de David," la forme des prières Ecclesiastiques, le Catechisme, les articles de la foi et confession de foi faite d'un commun accord par les Eglises Reformées du Royaume de France." It is a pocket edition belonging to one of the first settlers here, and its worn pages well attest the fact, that the good men who claimed its ownership took heed unto the divine command which is inscribed upon its opening page :—

"Enquêtez vous diligemment les Escritures, car par elles vous aurez la vie éternelle."—*Jean*, v., 39.

During the ministry of the Rev. Peter Augustus Franquefort, he was frequently assisted by the venerable Archdeacon Fleury. Both commenced their ministrations in Waterford, at nearly the same period, and for more than half a century "they lived and loved together."

The Fleurys were not amongst the first settlers here, and seem to have accompanied Bishop Chenevix. In 1683, the Rev. Louis Fleury, with Esther his wife, and with his little family, consisting of one son and two daughters, fled from his pastoral charge at Tours, and arrived safely in England, where he obtained letters of denization, on the 27th of April, 1687, in London, and was shortly after appointed chaplain to William III., after which he was pastor of Leyden.

Philip Amauret Fleury, who was but twelve years of age when his father fled, graduated at Leyden, and was ordained "to preach the Gospel to the French in Ireland." His letters *de bene decessit* are dated May 5, 1697, and signed by the ordinary, John Mank, D.D. He rendered many signal services to the crown of England. His son, Antoine Fleury, was also educated at Leyden, and on the 4th September, 1728, was ordained there. He came thence to London, and subsequently had charge of the French congregation, in the crypt under St. Patrick's. In 1761 he succeeded the Rev. Henry Gervaise, as one of the Vicars Choral of Lismore. His wife was of the noble De Rochebrune family; she is buried in the French Church at Waterford: his son George Louis, the Archdeacon, appears to have been ordained by his father's friend, the good Bishop Chenevix. The Archdeacon has left many worthy scions of the good old stock. His daughter was married to the Rev. R. Ryland, of Waterford, (author of the *History of Waterford*,) and has a numerous family; three of his sons entered the ministry; two of his grandsons are already ordained, and a third called to the bar.

One of the Waterford Huguenot descendants, Louis Perrin, is a judge of one of her Majesty's courts; the assistant-barrister of the county is a Bessonet; the stipendiary magistrate here is a Tabiteau; the late clerk of the peace a Delandre; the governor of the city prison is one of the Latrobes; the last officer of the constabulary was a Dubourdieu. In church and state the refugee descendants are honoured and respected; and Waterford has been no loser by the trying circumstances which drove them from their native land.

The ruined church where once they worshipped is well deserving of more than a passing visit. The present Dean of Waterford, the Rev. Edward N. Hoare, has exerted himself with laudable zeal to preserve it from desecration. The descendants of the old veteran Sautelle are resting there, side by side with Sir Hugh Purcell, who fought with Fitz Henry, and Sir Neale O'Neale, who lost his life in fighting for James II., at the Boyne. And their ashes should rest in peace.

Its tombs and history would deserve a special notice, and would serve as so many links in the eventful history of our country.

The thoughts which insensibly steal over the mind as one stands alone in the solemn stillness of the old grave yard, must be serious and impressive. Beneath your feet mingle the dust of the old Norman Knight who crossed the sea with Strongbow, Fitz Gerald, and Morton; and of the old friars who sung out the matins, or chaunted the dirge in quiet seclusion; around you are the memorials of the old citizens who won from the seventh Henry their character for loyal fidelity; and the escutcheon of one of the noblest of the sons of Ulster, who held not his life-blood dear for the cause of the faithless Stuarts; beyond are the humble grave-stones of the French Huguenots, and the simple record of the departure of one who ministered to them from the Book of Life; and side by side repose the mortal remains of the sheriffs who obtained their chartered rights renewed from the Royal Charles, and the Chief Magistrate who so boldly withstood the Puritan Protector. Within its sacred precincts all worshipped God. Each in his own day and generation held firmly by the faith he deemed most true, which in the succeeding generation was questioned as either heresy, idolatry, fanaticism, or schism; but all have surrendered their spirits to Him who gave them being, and are laid in that common sepulchre "where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest."

SAINT PATRICK'S PURGATORY.

BY WILLIAM PINKERTON.

PART III.

MEDIÆVAL HISTORY:—LEGENDS OF COUNT RAYMOND OF PERILHOS, AND WILLIAM STAUNTON.

"Certo certius est in aquilonari Iberniæ plaga locum aliquem terroribus horrendum, ab eo inventum fuisse: quod communiter Patricii Purgatorium dicebatur; cujus loci fama, ita sparsim per omnes Europæ partes, volare visa est."[a]

According to the above extract from Thyræus, the fame of St. Patrick's Purgatory having spread over Europe, pilgrims from all parts were induced to visit it; and I can only account for so few records of those pilgrimages being in existence, by presuming that the visitors did not find it to be so very wonderful a place, as the story of the "Knight" had led them to believe. The earliest authentic record of a pilgrimage that I have met with, is a pass from Primate Milo Sweetman, in 1365, quoted by Bishop Jones,[b] *ex Registro Milonis*, in the Archiepiscopal library at Armagh. A free translation of it runs as follows; the original I append below.[c]

"Milo, by divine permission, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland, to the religious and prudent man the Prior of St. Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg, in the diocese of Clogher, and to all others, the clergy and laity in the province of Armagh, everlasting health in the Lord. John Bonham and Guido Cassi, coming to us, have related that they, for devotion's sake, have gone on pilgrimage, and visited many holy places; and that they are desirous, for the health of their souls, to visit the place called the Purgatory of St. Patrick, our patron, which is in the diocese of Clogher aforesaid. We do therefore entreat and exhort in the Lord all and singular, by whom these pil-

[a] Thyræus. *Discursus Panegyrici de Nominibus, Tribulationibus, et Miraculis S. Patricii, Hibernorum Apostoli.* Duaci, 1617.

[b] *Patricius his Purgatory.* 1647. Henry Jones, Bishop of Clogher, was one of the commissioners appointed by the Chief Justices of Ireland to superintend the demolition of the Purgatory in 1632.

[c] Milo, permissione divina Archiepiscopus Armachanus, Hiberniæ Primas, religioso ac discreto viro Priori Purgatorii Sancti Patricii Loghderg, Clogherensis Diœcesseos, ac omnibus aliis Clericis et Laicis nostræ Armachanæ Provinciæ, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Venientes ad nos Johannes Bonham et Guidus Cassi asserentes septurima sancta loca devotionis causa peregre visitasse, locum qui dicitur Purgatorium Sancti Patricii Patroni nostri Diœcesi Clogherensi predicta devotionis causa pro animarum suarum remedio cupientes, ut asserunt, visitare, ad omnes et singulos, per quos dictos peregrinos transire contigerit, suademus et vos hortamur in Domino quatenus ipsos peregrinos cum per loca vestra transierunt benigne et favorabiliter admittatis, et de bonis a Domino vobis collatis humanitatis beneficium et charitativum subsidium eisdem impendatis, non patientes eisdem inferri, quantum in vobis est, molestiam vel gravamen, tam devoti laboris vos et hoc participes fieri nullatenus hæsitantes. Dat. in Civitate Dunensi XV; die mensis Martii, Anno Domini. MCCCLXV. et nostræ Consecrationis anno quinto.

grims may pass, to entertain and receive them courteously; and that of the goods which God hath bestowed upon you, you may afford them some charitable aid; nor permit, inasmuch as in you lieth, any molestation or disturbance to be given to them. By which means we doubt not but you shall be made partakers of their devout labours. Given at the City of Down, the fifteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1365, and the fifth of our consecration."

In Rymer's *Fœdera* there is the copy of a safe-conduct or pass,[d] granted, in 1397, by Richard II., to enable Raymond, Viscount of Perilhos, Baron of Seret, Knight of Rhodes,[e] and Chamberlain of Charles VI. of France, to visit the Purgatory with a retinue of twenty men and thirty horses. Raymond, on his return to the continent, wrote an account of his visit in the Limousin dialect, a Latin version of which Philip O'Sullevan subsequently published in his *Catholic History of Ireland*, as a veritable historical fact. And, indeed, in a late edition of O'Sullevan's history, published in Dublin in 1850, and edited by Professor Kelly, of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, the whole story is again given, without either note or comment. I need scarcely say that Philip was the son of that most valiant old Irish chieftain, O'Sullevan Beare, whose castle of Dun-buidhe was destroyed by Carew's forces in 1602. He was educated in Spain, and served in the Spanish navy; and, it is to be hoped, was a better officer than historian. His chronology, especially, is most inaccurate. Even in this very story of Raymond, though O'Sullevan had sufficient guides in the names of the reigning Pope, the Kings of France and England, and the Viceroy of Ireland, he fixes the date just sixty-nine years previous to the event.

The Count of Perilhos states the origin of the Purgatory pretty much as detailed by the Monk of Saltrey, and gives us some information respecting his own personal history. He relates that his father was a favourite, and in the military service of Charles V. of France; and when dying, recommended him, then a youth, to the care of that monarch, who had him educated and brought up at the French court. At the death of Charles, Raymond entered into the service of John I. of Arragon, whose subject he was, according to the *jus gentium*, his hereditary estates being situated in that King's dominion. John made Raymond Master of his Horse, and a mutual love and esteem, as much as could possibly be between a monarch and a subject, existed between them. The Count subsequently obtained from John the command of three gallies, which the latter had placed at the service of Pope Clement VII. After the death of Clement, Raymond continued in the service of the successor to the papal chair, Benedict XIII., until he heard intelligence of the sudden death of his beloved king, John of Arragon.[f] Greatly distressed by the sad tidings, he anxiously desired to

[d] *De Salvo Conductu ad visitandum Purgatorium Sancti Patricii.*—

This is a long and prosy document of which I need only transcribe a few lines. After the usual greeting to all and singular constables, seneschals, marshalls, &c. &c. it goes on thus—"Sciatis, quod, cum, nobilis vir Reymundus Vicecomes de Perrilleux et de Rodes Chivaler, Camerarius carissimi Patris nostri Francie, in regnum nostrum Anglie venire, et per idem regnum versus terram nostram Hibernie, ad Purgatorium Sancti Patricii ibidem videndum et visitandum, cum viginti hominibus et triginta equis in comitiva sua, transire et proficisci intendat et proponat, nostra licentia mediante."

[e] A Raymond Perellos was Grand Master of the same order at Malta in 1713.

[f] He was killed by a fall from his horse while hunting

know how his late king fared in the other world, and for this purpose, and the benefit of his own soul, he determined to make a pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory. On announcing this determination to the Pope, Benedict strenuously opposed it; but, after long and importunate solicitations, Raymond at last, obtaining the Pope's sanction and blessing, departed from Avignon.[s] He first went to Paris, where he procured letters of introduction from Charles VI., to his son-in-law, Richard II. Arriving in London, he obtained the safe-conduct pass already mentioned; and, proceeding to Dublin, was honourably received by Richard Plantagenet, Earl of March, Lord Deputy of Ireland. After earnestly, but vainly, endeavouring to dissuade the Count from so dangerous an undertaking, the Earl of March gave him introductory letters to the Primate. He then went to Drogheda, where the Primate received him warmly, but also strongly opposed his project; stating that many persons, who had entered the Purgatory, had never afterwards been seen—[multos Purgatorium ingressos nunquam redivisse.] Being still unshaken in his resolve, the Primate gave him absolution, and letters to O'Neill the King—[ad Onellum regem.] O'Neill sent him on to a place termed "Protection or Asylum," [protection vel asylum nuncupatur.] O'Sullevan, in a note here, gives the word *Garmuin*. The lord of this place, and his brother, treated Raymond with great courtesy, and ferried him, with his retinue, and a great number of other pilgrims from various regions, over to the island. On reaching the island, Raymond was led into the church of the convent, where the Prior, in the presence of many witnesses, demanded his reasons for wishing to enter the Purgatory. Having stated his reasons, the Prior replied to the following effect:—"You have undertaken a very difficult and dangerous adventure, one that but few have attempted, and some of them without success. I confess, indeed, that it is easy to descend into Purgatory; but to return is the great difficulty. For the excruciating tortures of it surpass belief, to which men, of otherwise good courage, have succumbed, thus throwing away their souls and bodies." As the worthy Prior seems to have been well read in his Virgil, I here append his exact words:—"Perdifficilem atque periculosam rem suscepisti, quamque pauci tentarunt, nedum sunt assecuti. Fateor equidem facilem esse Purgatorii descensum; *sed revocare gradum, hoc opus, hic labor.* Quippe scrobis istius cruciatus fidem superant, quibus viri alioquin constantes succumbentes jacturam animæ corporisque fecerunt."

The Prior then went on to say, that if Raymond really desired to perform penance, he might enter a convent, and receive much consolation from the society of good ecclesiastics; but the Count was deaf to all dissuasions; he had travelled too far, he said, to see his King, to give up his firm purpose. The Prior, finding him resolute, said that he must observe all the ceremonies instituted

[s] This was the period of the great schism in the Church when there were two Popes or anti-Popes, as their supporters or opponents respectively termed them. Clement VII. and Benedict XIII. reigned at Avignon, and were acknowledged as legitimate by France, Spain, Scotland, Sicily, and Cyprus; while during the same period Urban VI., Boniface IX., Innocent VII., Gregory XII., Alexander V., and John XXII., successively reigned at Rome, and were recognised by the greater part of the Empire, Bohemia, Hungary, and England. This schism, which commenced in 1378, was not healed till the close of the Council of Constance in 1418.

by St. Patrick, and observed by his (the Prior's) predecessors—["a Divo Patritio constitutum, et ab antecessoribus meis observatum."] While these secular ceremonies were in progress, Raymond did not neglect his temporal affairs. He made his will, bequeathing his property to his two sons; gave the necessary instructions to his attendants, in case they should have to travel home without him; and made arrangements for his sepulture, if he died in Purgatory, and any other subsequent adventurous explorer should find his body there. On the appointed day, the priests of all the neighbouring convents were assembled, a solemn mass was said for Raymond, as if he were dead; then a procession was formed, which, chaunting the litany, proceeded to the entrance of the Purgatory. The awful portal, leading to the other world, after having been well sprinkled with holy water, was then opened. At this last solemn moment, the Prior earnestly implored Raymond to forego his purpose, assuring him that numbers who had entered the Purgatory had perished in its horrible recesses, through their scant reliance on God, their succumbing to the temptations of the devils, or their inability to bear in the flesh punishments expressly intended for disembodied spirits. "But," continued the Prior, "if it be still your fixed resolve to proceed, listen while I briefly relate what things will happen to you"—["Sin tibi fixum est id, quod animo constituisti, exequi, audi, dum breviter expono, quæ tibi sint eventura."] He then proceeded to tell the Count how he would be assailed by demons, against whom his sole protection would be to exclaim—"Christe, fili Dei vivi, miserere mei peccatoris;" and concluded by saying, "These things have we been told by those who have returned from the Purgatory; —["Ita ex his qui sunt ex Purgatorio reversi, accepimus sibi contigisse."] The Prior's dissuasions were in vain. After taking a solemn farewell, by kissing all around, the Count, followed by an English Knight, entered the Purgatory; the door was closed, and they were left in complete darkness. Though two persons entered, they had not any of the advantages of companionship in their terrible adventure; the Prior having solemnly assured them that, if either spoke to the other, immediate death to both would be the fatal consequence.

Now, as we have historical evidence from the *Fœdera*, that Raymond at least intended to visit St. Patrick's Purgatory, and as it is very probable that he did go there, and was put into some place or another, it may be interesting and suggestive to read what were his first experiences when, after being prepared by solemn and imposing ceremonies, he found himself shut up in darkness. And it must be confessed that these first sensations appear so very natural as to have a considerable air of truth about them; with respect to the sights and sounds he saw and heard afterwards, we need not express an opinion. The first part of his adventures shall be given, therefore, as literally as possible, in his own words.

"When shut in, I considered the magnitude of the cave, which I computed to be about four ells long [ulnas quatuor longum], and I found the inner part to turn and extend a little to the left-hand side. I found, where I placed my footsteps, the ground so weak and trembling that it seemed to me as if it could not bear the weight of a man. Therefore, dreading that I should fall into some

unknown abyss, I stepped back, and having settled myself in the Catholic faith, I being strong in resolution, fell on my knees in prayer, concluding that no other mysterious events were to take place. But about an hour after, I began to tremble and perspire in every joint, felt pain at my heart, and experienced all the symptoms of sea-sickness—[nauseare perinde aesi in longa navigatione marina jactatione vexarer.] When in this state I was oppressed by sleep, but was soon roused up by the noise of a loud peal of thunder, which was not heard by me alone, but by all the people on the island, who were the more astonished as the day was clear and serene. The fear occasioned by this sudden thunder-clap was scarcely over, for I had just opened my eyes from sleep, when I glided downwards about six ells; nor, though I was thoroughly awakened and affrighted, did I recover myself from this sudden descent until I said these words, as directed by the Prior:—'Christe, fili Dei vivi, miserere mei peccatoris.' After this I perceived the cave to be more spacious and less dark, and the further I went alone (for by this time I had lost my companion) it seemed more large and deep. Nor did I stop until I came to a place extremely dark and destitute of light. But the darkness soon passed away, and I came into a spacious hall, where there was about as much light as there is in the twilight of a winter evening: it had not a continuous wall, but was dome-shaped, and supported by solid pillars. In which, after I had walked to and fro, thinking my journey was at an end, I sat down to admire the structure, elegance, and beauty, of this strange piece of architecture, which in my opinion surpassed all human art."

From this forth, Raymond's story, with the exception of his interview with John of Arragon, is little else than a version of the legend of Owaine. His meditations in the hall were interrupted by the appearance of twelve venerable men, dressed in white, who gave him instructions respecting his future course. After leaving them, he wandered through the various fields of punishment, in the fourth of which he found his king. It certainly was not a pleasant place to meet him in, for, after describing spits, gridirons, and various methods of roasting and broiling unfortunate souls, Raymond thus continues:—

"The most gifted tongue could not relate, the most forcible and copious writer could not sufficiently describe, such dreadful tortures and punishments. Woe to sinners!—Alas! for those who do not repent in this world.—All the ills of this life, labours, poverties, exiles, imprisonments, disgraces, miseries, calamities, wounds, and even death itself, are nothing to the pains of Purgatory." ["Væ peccantibus! Hei! non agentibus in hoc mundo pœnitentiam. Omnia, hujus vitæ tristitiæ, labores, paupertates, exilia, carceres, opprobria, miseriæ, calamitates, vulnera, et mors ipsa, nihil sunt ad Purgatorii pœnas."]

"In this field I saw many men and women whom I knew, and some who were related to me. Here I met with John, my king. I asked him for what crime he was here in durance; but, though he conversed with me on many matters, to my question he answered only this:—'It is of paramount importance that princes and other magnates should never injure any person for the benefit of another, however

great a favourite the latter may be.'[h] In the same place, too, I saw a certain ecclesiastic severely punished on account of his heavy sins. He had a narrow escape from eternal punishment in Hell, and truly, so he would have been punished, had he not, before death, expiated his wickedness by great grief of heart, many tears, and strict penance.[i] I also saw lady Aldonso Carolea, who was my kinswoman, and of whose death I was not aware, as she was alive when I set out on my pilgrimage. She was punished principally because she studied nothing so much as dressing and painting her face. Nevertheless, all these (thanks, praise, and glory be to God) were in the way of salvation. But I, protected by the name of God, was delivered from these torments, in spite of the exertions of the Devils."

Leaving his king, Raymond next passed through the Valley of Pain, where he saw in rapid revolution an immense fiery wheel, thickly studded with sword blades, on which numbers of unfortunate souls were spitted. But as it is best to pass over these horrible sights as quickly as possible, I shall merely state, that the Count, after going through the Furnace of Pain, the River of Pain, and the Pit of Grief, at last arrived at the Bridge of Calamities. Undauntedly as ever, he crossed the bridge, and at once found himself among the green fields, shining rivulets, beautiful flowers, delicious fruits, and harmonious birds, of the terrestrial Paradise. He was warmly welcomed by an innumerable crowd of happy spirits; and saw many Popes, Cardinals, Archbishops, and other dignitaries, retaining the same rank that they had held during life; and also great companies of women sitting on their seats. [Ibi Papæ, Cardinales, Archiepiscopi, et alii, innumeri pro numero, quo quisque functus erat vivus fulgebant. Fœminarum quoque agmina copiosa suis in subsellis sedebant.] We are not, however, to suppose that the ladies were always confined to their chairs; for we are expressly informed that the favourite amusements of the place were singing and dancing—[nunc choreas ducebant, nunc quoque mira cantus dulcedine personabant.] Two venerable bishops then approached, and gave Raymond a theological lecture, which being of rather a controversial character, we need not repeat. They then showed him the entrance to the Imperial Heaven, saying—'This is the gate of Heaven, from whence is sent down to us the celestial manna, the food that the Lord has appointed for the Elect, sweeter than any nectar or ambrosia.'—[Cœli porta, unde ad nos cœleste manna, cibus quem Dominus destinavit, omni nectare et ambrosia jucundior, mittitur.] The bishops then politely dismissed him.

h John of Arragon was unpopular in his lifetime, by reason of his encouraging French favourites at his court; and after his death the succession to the crown was disputed by Don Martin, his brother, and Matthew, Count of Foix, his son-in-law. Raymond admits that he was forbidden to state publicly all that he saw and heard in Purgatory; so there can be little doubt that his pilgrimage was undertaken for a political purpose, and intended to serve the interests of some one or other of the conflicting parties, in the very complicated state of Spanish, Italian, and Papal politics which then existed. Nor was this the first time that Purgatory had been called in to the aid of politics. Louis d'Outremer, though a fugitive with his uncle Athelstan in England, was recalled and placed on the throne of France, principally by means of a document, produced by the clergy, and purporting to be a vision of Purgatory, seen by Charles le Gros, and certified by the deceased monarch's signature.—See William of Malmesbury, and Sismondi's Carlovingians.

i In all probability this is an allusion to Urban VI, who died eight years previously, and who was the anti-Pope to Clement, in whose service Raymond had been. The great sin may have been assuming the Pontificate, and thus causing the schism in the church.

The Count returned safely through Purgatory, without being molested by the devils, who fled at his approach, so powerful was the odour of sanctity his garments had acquired by his short stay in Paradise. He arrived at the hall of the twelve venerable men, who, receiving him with congratulations, assured him that his former sins were now all expiated, but that he must be careful for the future.—[Mihique gratulantur, affirmantes me præteritis peccatis esse purgatum, oportere vero futura cavere.] Here, too, he met, for the first time, in Purgatory, the English Knight who had entered it with him, and who was dreadfully exhausted by what he had passed through, though we are not informed respecting any of his adventures. Being warned by the venerable men that their time was nearly expired, and that the Prior would soon be ready to receive them, the two explorers of the nether world set out for the gate; but the English Knight was so fatigued, they made but little way. In this predicament they knelt in prayer; but falling asleep were awakened by a peal of thunder; and at the same moment an unseen power lifted them up and carried them to the gate, just as it was opened by the Prior. Their return to the world was hailed with great joy and many ceremonies; the monks chaunting *De profundis*. Raymond, after revisiting, and no doubt *lionising* in, Dublin, London, and Paris, returned to his native country a wiser and a better man.

As a proof of the truth of this story, O'Sullevan states that his work was submitted to the censorship of the Holy Mother Church and Sacred Inquisition; and, moreover, adducing authorities, says:—"If this history of the Viscount seem in any part difficult to be believed, let him who desireth to be satisfied in it read Dionysius the Carthusian's work, *De Quatuor Novissimis*, where he relates like histories of others who returned from this Purgatory; entering fully into the subject, and answering difficulties. And he and other authors treat of many more instances of the pains of Purgatory. Of which Virgil thus sings:—

> 'Had I a hundred mouths, a hundred tongues,
> And throats of brass inspired with iron lungs,
> I could not half those horrid crimes repeat,
> Nor half the punishments those crimes have met.'"[1]

Taking O'Sullevan's advice, and referring to Dionysius, I find that he relates the stories of Tundale and the knight, but neither satisfies doubts nor answers arguments. Indeed, he discusses the subject very fairly, in the form of a dialogue; one person for, and the other against, the truth of these stories. The doubters certainly have the advantage, for seven arguments are adduced to prove the non-existence of the terrestrial Paradise, and that the soul, when released from Purgatory, passes at once into Heaven. And the Carthusian concludes by saying:—"I leave the determination of

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[1] Hæc Vicecomitis historia si aliqua in parte creditu difficilis videatur, adeat studiosus veritatis Divum Dionysium Carthusianum, qui in opere de *Quatuor Novissimis*, de aliis qui ex hic Purgatorio reversi sunt similes historias refert, et rem fuse secutus argumentis, atque difficultatibus respondet. Ac ille et alii auctores plura et multa purgatorii cruciamenta tradunt. Quod et Virgilius canit:—

Non mihi si linguæ centum sint, oraque centum,
Ferrea vox, omnes scelerum comprendere formas,
Omnia pœnarum percurrere nomina possim. *Catholicæ Ibernicæ Compendium*. Ulyssipone, 1621.

these things to others, rather referring them to the learned, if they can be reconciled; because I dare neither contradict such learned doctors, nor so many revelations: these things would more safely be committed to the determination of the church." [k] But if the Carthusian theologian fails as an authority for O'Sullevan, he is amply supported by the pagan poet; the whole story, in fact, being little more than a wretched travesty of the Sixth Book of the ÆNEID. It may not be uninteresting to compare the classical with the modern relation. In doing so we shall use Dryden's translation, for the benefit of the general reader, in preference to the original, though the latter much more forcibly illustrates the close resemblance between the two; and, for the sake of brevity, we shall omit many coincidental ideas which the classical scholar must readily recognise.

Æneas went to the infernal regions to visit his father,—Raymond, his king; and both descended by a cave near a lake, and surrounded by water:—

"Deep was the cave, and downward as it went
From the wide mouth a rocky rough descent;
And here th' access a gloomy grove defends;
And here th' unnavigable lake extends.
* * *
The frightful entrance was perplexed with woods,
Enclosed with sad Cocytus' sullen floods."

Both before making the attempt were earnestly dissuaded from it, and in almost the same words:—

"The gates of Hell are open night and day:
Smooth the descent, and easy is the way;
But to return, and view the cheerful skies,
In this the task and mighty labour lies."

Both, however, being determined to proceed, received instructions how to act:—

"But if so dire a love your soul invades,
As twice below to view the trembling shades
If you so hard a toil will undertake
As twice to pass th' unnavigable lake,
Receive my counsel."

Æneas having been furnished with a golden branch, and Raymond with a form of prayer, they enter the cave. Raymond falls asleep, while Æneas sees a tree whereon—

"The God of sleep there hides his wearied head,
And empty dreams on every side are spread."

Both see the same descriptions of punishments, and for the same purpose—namely, the purgation of sin:—

"Some laid along,
And bound with burning wires on spokes of wheels are hung.
* * *

[k] Horum determinationem aliis magis committo et si concordari haec queant peritis relinquo; quia nec tantis doctoribus, nec tot revelationibus contradicere audeo; determinationi Ecclesiae haec tutius committuntur. *Liber de Quatuor Hominis Novissimis.* Cologne, 1591.

For sin are various penances enjoined,
And some are hanged to bleach upon the wind,
Some plunged in waters, others purged in fires,
Till all the dregs are drained, and all the rust expires."

Passing onwards both arrive at a place of happiness for departed souls, yet not the supreme Heaven :—

"They took their way
Where long extended plains of pleasure lay,
The verdant fields with those of Heaven might vie,
With ether vested and a purple sky;
The blissful seats of happy souls below."

The same amusements are found in the Elysian fields as in the terrestrial Paradise :—

"Some in heroic verse divinely sing,
Others in artful measures lead the ring."

The Trojan hero is shown round the Elysian fields by Anchises,—the Spanish Count by two bishops. Æneas, before he can return to earth, must pass through the ivory gate of sleep. Raymond fell asleep before he reached the world, and who can doubt but that it was in the ivory gate he slumbered also! For

"Two gates the silent house of sleep adorn,
Of polished ivory this, that of transparent horn;
True visions through transparent horn arise;
Through polished ivory pass *deluding lies*."

There is yet another account of a visit to St. Patrick's Purgatory, by one William Staunton, early in the fifteenth century. It is remarkable from its very disagreement with either of the preceding legends; and is contained in a MS. in the King's Collection, in the British Museum, under the following heading :—

"Here begynneth the revelacion the which William Staunton saw in Patrick's Purgatorie, the Friday next after the Fest of the Exaltacion of the Crosse, in the yere of oure Lorde M^l. cccc.^mo ix." (1409.)[1]

Staunton tells his story himself, and enters into all the particulars with great minuteness, commencing thus :—

"Y, William Staunton, born in the bisshopryche of Dereham, of Englond, bi Goddes grace entred into the purgatorie of seint Patrick, in the bisshopriche of Cleghire, in Ireland, the viij. owre bifore the none, on the Friday next after Holyrode day in harvest. Y was put in by the prior of seint Mathew of same purgatorie, with precession and devougte prayers of the same priour, and the convent toke me an orison to blesse me with, and to write the first worde in [my] forehede, the which prayer is this—'*Ihesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, miserere mihi peccatori.*' And the priour taught me to say this prayer, when ony sprit, good or evel, appered unto me, or when y herd ony noyse that y shuld be afered of, if thei were good sprites or evel." After describing his entrance he says :—

[1] Regia. 17. B. XLIII. I am not aware of any other copy of this very curious production.

"There y abode and sumwhat slumbered and slepte. And after, y was ware of a litel light afar, as it had be the dayng of the day. And me thought y sawe a man and a woman bothe cladde in white, the man in a chanons is abite, and the woman in the same abite, with a vayle on hir hede, as a nonne. An when y sawe hem first, y dredyng sumwhat, said my prayer, and markd my forehede as the priour taught me. Than they laughed, and said 'God spede!' And than y was sumwhat rejoysed, and y said 'The spede of God be welcome unto me.' And that man said unto me, 'William thou art welcome; and thou hast take on hond a grete thyng, but bi the mercy of God thow shalt wel do and wel fare: and here, fast by, thow shal fynde ij waies, one on thi righond, another on thi lefte honde. The way on thi right hond is faire and brode, and the way in thi lefte hond is more and sumdel fowle in the bigynneng, and it is faire and clene to sight; but leve the way on the left hond, and take the wai on the right hond. But thow shalt fynd men in thi right hond, the which shul lete the to pass by here power, the which men shullen be liche in shape and colour to men of thi owne contree that ben leving, but thei ben evel spirites, of which thow shalt be evel afered, and therfore have thow in thi mynde the passioun of owre Lord Ihesu Crist, and sai thi praier, and thei shul voide, and be knowe to the such as thei be; and afterwarde thow shalt see and here more grisly sightes and evel spirites, of the which thou shalt be sore adradde, but have in mynde, as y said the, of owre Lordes passioun, and thai shal do the none harm.' Thanne y, William, said, 'If it myght be plesyng to God and to the for to have knowlage of the, that so moche kindenesse have shewid to me, and y require the for the love of owre Lord Ihesu Criste, if it be thi wil?' Thanne he saide, 'Y wil gladly that thow wete, I am cleped in Northeontree Iohan of Bridlyngtone,[m] and so y am; and this woman is seint Ive, my suster, that wonned in Quitike.'"

In fact, they were two compatriots of William, from the north of England, to whom he had frequently made acceptable offerings, and who now proved themselves friends in need. They parted from him, and Staunton proceeded on his way according to their directions; and, after meeting with some evil spirits, whom he soon dispersed by his powerful prayer, at last fell in with others more hideous; some having four faces and seven horns, others having faces on their knees and elbows.

These made such terrible cries, "blarynge" out with their burning tongues, that our adventurer, losing presence of mind, forgot his prayer, and was on the point of perishing, when the two friendly saints again appearing, rescued him from the demons. After the saints had reproved him for his want of courage, they all walked on together for about a mile, when an incident occurred—a glimpse of human nature even in Purgatory. The sheer simplicity of this little episode of love and suffering gives it a peculiar interest; it is exceedingly Dantesque, yet we do not recollect an exactly parallel case in the *Divina Commedia*. Modernising the orthography and obsolete phrases, we shall give the story as nearly as possible in the words of the original.—

[m] St. John of Bridlington was a renowned north-country saint and thaumaturgist; for seventeen years he was prior of a monastery of regular canons of St. Augustin, and died in 1739.

"And I met a sister of mine," continues Staunton, "that died long before, in a time of pestilence and with her a man, whom I well knew my sister dearly loved, when they both lived in the world." The sister does not upbraid her brother, but, appealing to St. John of Bridlington, says—"Holy, ye be here in God's stead, and I make my complaint to thee against my brother, who there standeth, that he hath sinned in Holy Church against God. For this man that standeth here loved me, and I loved him, and either of us would have married the other as Holy Church teacheth, and I should have had children, souls to God. But my brother prevented our marriage, for he said that if it took place we should have no happiness with each other, and for that cause it was abandoned."—Then St. John, addressing Staunton, said—"Why didst thou do this trespass against God and thine own soul? For I tell thee, there is no man that hindereth man and woman to go together in the bond of God—though the man be a shepherd, and all his ancestors, and the woman be come of kings or emperors; or if the man be come of ever so high kin, and the woman of ever so low kin, if they love each other;—he sinneth in Holy Church against God and his Christendom, in respect that he preventeth them, whoever he may be, and consequently shall suffer much pain and tribulation."

St. John then showed Staunton a fire raging so fiercely, that a whiff of it would have killed all the people in the world as quickly as a man could turn his hand. However, by cautiously approaching on the windward side of this horrible furnace, William was enabled to get a peep at the unfortunate souls, who were punished in it for the sin of pride in dress.

"Y sawe summe ther with colers of golde about here neckis, and summe of silver, and summe y saw with gay girdels of silver and gold, and harneist hornes[n] abowte here neckes, summe with mo jagges on here clothis than hole cloth, sum hire clothis full of gyngeles and belles of silver all over sette, and summe with long pokes on hire sleeves; and women with gownes traveling behinde hem a moche space, and summe others with gay chapelets on hir hedes of golde and perles and other precious stones. And than y loked on him that y first saw in payn, y saw the colers and the gay girdles and bawderikes brennying. * * * * And y saw the jagges that men were clothed ynne turne al to addres, to dragons, and to todes, and to many other orrible bestes, sowking hem with all here myght, and throwout every gyngels y sawe fendes smyte brenning nayles of fire into here flessh."[o]

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[n] The horns worn as head-dresses by the ladies were a "head and front of offending" to the clergy and satirists of the period. A bishop, in his sermon, compared his lady-hearers to horned snails, harts, and unicorns. Lydgate, the monk of Bury, wrote a poem entitled a *Dittay on Women's Hornes*, to prove that

"Beauty will show though hornes were away.
Clerkes record by great authority
Hornes were given to beasts for defence;
A thing contrary to feminity,
To be made sturdy of resistance.
But arch-wives, eager in their violence,
Fierce as tigers to make affray,
They have despite, and act against conscience.
List not to pride, then, hornes cast away."

[o] The above is a very accurate description of the extravagant costumes of the period. All the old Purgatory legends are particularly severe on pride of dress. In a MS. in the Harleian Collection, written by a Norman knight about the commencement of the fifteenth century for the instruction of his daughters, the author tells a story of a lady, who, dressing herself when she should have been at church, saw, instead of her own countenance, the Devil's, in her looking-glass. He also

[illegible] of Bridlyingtone in v. Purgatorii of S. Patrik [illegible]

From thence the saint led William to a second fire, where blasphemers were punished. A third fire was devoted to those who had not kept lent and fast days, as they should have done, and who were now forced to swallow flames and filth. The fourth fire contained those who had dishonoured their parents; the fifth, thieves; the sixth, false witnesses; the seventh, murderers; the eighth, lewd and luxurious persons; the ninth, those who had not sufficiently corrected their children. Backbiters were not accommodated with a special fire to themselves, but were chained on the top of a high rock, where they received the benefit of the flame and smoke from the other nine.

Still conducted by the friendly saint, William passed on till he saw—

"Twey towers, that one ful of brynnyng fire, and the other ful of yse and snowe; and, in that fulle of fire, y saw many sowles y-payned and made hote in poynte for to mylt, and sodenly, with fendes, thei were cast out of that passynge hete into that other tower ful of yse and snow, and fendes with shovelis castyng yse and snowe uppon hem, and that payned hem full sore: and thanne y saw many sowles, with fire-brondys brennyng in here hondes, havyng here bodies ful of serpents, snakes, todes, and divers other orrible wormes, knocking at the yate of the towre; and when they were letyn yn thei cast the brondes of fire to thilk other sowles, that were cast in paynes, and beten hem with the same brondys, and payned them wonderly sore. And al the serpentes, todes, and other orrible wormes, lopen from here bodies to thilk other that were payned in that cold, and stongyn and beten hem wonderly sore."

"And when Seint Iohan shewid me al these paynes, and many mo than y can or may telle or bi thinke, y said to him:—'May ther be ony remedi or mytigacion to these sowles that be thus y-payned in these diverse paynes?' And he said thus:—'William, God forbede it els! for thow shalt understond that these sowles may he holpen owt of these paynes principallich bi the merci of God and by the good dedis that here frendes and the peple levying in the worlde may do for hem; as to lernyed men, as bi masses singyng, saing of sawters, *placebo* and *dirige*, commendacions, vij. psalmes and the xv. psalmes, with the letenye, bi almes-dede, and bi pilgrimage; and also by lewidmen, with the *pater noster*, the *ave Maria*, and the crede, almes-dede, fastyng, and pilgrimage, and bi many other good dedis. Ffor William, as thou seist, if a manis honde or his fete were put in to a vessell ful of hote scaldynge water, yf a man put ynto [it] a quantite of colde water, he sumwhat the hete of the scaldynge water wold abate, and so ofte he myght put ynto [it] more colde water, and more, that ye hete shuld not grieve him. In the same wise so many prayeres and good dedis may be don for those sowles that ben in payne of Purgatorie, that the goodnysse, and bi the merci of God, and the good dedis don for hem, that permytteth be delyverde owt of pain.'"

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relates another story of a gentleman, who wished to know what had become of his deceased wife's soul. A holy hermit, employed to make the delicate inquiry, saw the soul of the lady under trial, her soul and good deeds being placed in one balance of a scale, her evil actions in another; St. Michael and the Devil standing by to see fair weight. The good rather outweighed the other side of the balance, till the Devil, snatching up the lady's clothes and ornaments, placed them in the evil scale, bringing it to the ground; and St. Michael was compelled to give up the lady, clothes and all, to the Arch-enemy.

St. John and William now finally parted, and the latter went on till he came to a water—"griesliche and depe, and moche griesly noise y herd therynne, and understode that ther shuld have ben a brigge over that water, as y herd say in the world; and y saw none, and was the more agast and adrede"

William here casts a reflection on the accuracy of the previous travellers through Purgatory; and with good reason, for he was so much disappointed at not finding the bridge described by Tundale, Owaine, and other earlier *voyageurs*, and frightened by a troop of fiends, that he again forgot his prayer, and was only saved by the timely appearance of the blessed St. Ive. Then, parting from her, he tells us:—"Y went forthe bi the water side on my right honde, and on that other side of the water y saw nothyng but an highe roche, and so long y went on that water side that y saw an high towour on the ferther side of that water, and there y saw mo light than y did on all the way bifore."[p]

Still observing no signs of a bridge, Staunton was sorely distressed, but having recourse to prayer, he at last spied a fair woman on the top of the tower, and a ladder reaching from its loftiest battlement to the bank of the river on which he stood. The ladder, however, seemed much too slight to bear his weight, and the "rongs" [steps] of it were sharper than razors.

"And than y herd a griesly noise comyng fast toward me, and y marked me with my prayer, and al that noyse vanyshed away, and than y lookid to that ladder, and ther y saw a corde comyng fro the top of the towour to the fote of the ladder, and that woman bad me knitte that corde about my myddelle, and so y did, and yede to that ladder agen, and reght my hand to that rong, and then y feld the rong of no sharpnesse, and bi the help of that woman, and of myne owne gryppyng, y steied uppon that ladder, tho y herd a thowsand noyse more griesly and hidewus in the water under me, and in that lond that y com fro, than y herd ony tyme bifore. Than bi the help of owre Lord Ihesu Crist and his merci, and that faire woman that was above that towour, y was sone brought to the top of that towour, where y was past al maner of drede."

Staunton, then falling on his knees, thanked God for his deliverance, and the fair woman—we are not told who she was—for her assistance and the cord.

"Than that fayre woman said, the yonder corde is whilke corde that you gavest to the chapman that was robbed with thieves, when he cam where you were, asking almes for the love of God; and than the woman wend down from the towour and y followed, and there we cam into a fayre contree."

This "fayre contree" was, of course, the terrestrial Paradise, and had all the flowers, fruits, birds, and other *delices*, generally attributed to that blessed region. The happy souls received Staunton "well tenderlich" as if he had been their born brother; and soon the usual *cicerone*, the venerable

[p] This is the only passage for which Staunton seems to be indebted to Virgil:—

"The hero, looking on the left, espied
A lofty tower, and strong on every side,
With treble walls, which Phlegethon surrounds,
Whose fiery flood the burning empire bounds,
And pressed beneath the rocks the bellowing noise resounds."

bishop, appeared and spoke to him in a similar strain as is related in the other legends. But William saw more, during his short sojourn. The soul of a prioress, by some surreptitious means, obtaining admission among the exclusives, was followed by fiends who claimed her as their legitimate property. They accused her of having had abundance of riches, which she used for the comfort of her body, and not for devotion—of having been proud and pompous instead of meek and lowly, as a religious woman ought to be. The prioress defended herself, but the evidence was against her; so the bishop gave her up to the fiends till doomsday; and here Staunton concludes, saying:—"wherefore all Crysten man that heryn or redyn this. Y besych yon for the love of God, that ye have me in your worship, and ye shall be yn myne."

Bishop Jones quotes another document, in the Archiepiscopal library at Armagh, relating to a pilgrimage. It is a certificate granted by Primate Octavian, in 1485, to John Garhi and Francis Proly, priests of the city of Lyons, and John Burgesse, their servant boy, testifying that they had visited the Purgatory of the holy Confessor St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, in which the sins of offenders are in this life purgated. And afflicting their bodies in prayer and fasting, according to the ceremonies of that place, they for a certain time remained in the said Purgatory; and by the power of Christ our Redeemer, contemplatively encountered devilish deceits and fantastical temptations, most devoutly accomplishing their pilgrimage.[a]

In all periods there have been unbelievers of one kind or another, so we may be the less surprised to find that even in the palmiest days of these legends there were persons who doubted their truth. As early as the thirteenth century, Vincent of Bellais, in his very curious *Speculum Mundi*, and Bonaventure, surnamed the Seraphical Doctor, openly expressed their disbelief, principally on the grounds already mentioned, respecting the soul's immediate admission to heaven after its release from Purgatory, a topic that long employed the subtile sophisms of the schoolmen. Indeed, within a year or two of the period of Raymond's pilgrimage, we find a depreciating notice of the Purgatory in the pages of the delightful old chronicler, Froissart. The courtly canon of Chymay, having, as he tells us, a great affection to see the realm of England, after an absence of twenty-seven years, arrived at Canterbury just as Richard II. returned from his first expedition to Ireland. Froissart happening to ride with Sir William Lisle, from Ospringe to Leeds Castle, in Kent, where he was to have an interview with the king, asked his companion if he had been in Ireland, and receiving an affirmative reply, the next question naturally referred to the great Irish wonder of the world:—

"Then I demanded of him the manner of the hole that is in Ireland, called St. Patrick's Purgatory, if it were true what was said of it or not. Then he said, that of a surety such a hole there was,

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[a] Purgatorium almifici Confessoris Sancti Patricii Hiberniæ Apostoli quo in hoc sæculo purgantur crimina peccatorum. Et in dicto Purgatorio jejunis et orationibus, juxta loci illius ceremonias, corpora sua affligentes, per nonnulla tempora expectarunt ac armis Christi Redemptoris nostri contra diabolicas fraudes et fantastica excitamenta contemplative certarunt, suas peregrinationes devotissime implendo.—*Ex Registro Octavian.* Bibl. Arm.

and that he himself and another knight of England had been there while the king lay at Dublin; and said how they entered into the hole, and were closed in at the sun going down, and abode there all night, and the next morning issued out again at the sun rising. Then he said how that when he and his fellow were entered, and passed the gate that was called the Purgatory of St. Patrick, and that they were descended and gone down three or four parts descending down as into a cellar, a certain hot vapour rose again them and struck into their heads, that they were fain to sit down on the stairs, which are of stone. And after they had sat there a season, they had a great desire to sleep, and so fell asleep, and slept there all night. Then I demanded if that in their sleep they knew where they were or what visions they had:—he answered me that in sleeping they entered into great imaginations, and in marvellous dreams, otherwise than they were wont to have in their chambers; and in the morning they issued out, and within a short season clean forgot their dreams and visions; wherefore, he said, he thought all that matter was but a phantasy."

As we descend the stream of time the doubters increase. In the *Myrror of the Worlde*, published by Caxton, in 1481, but the translation of a French work published at Bruges in 1464, the author, speaking of the Purgatory and the adventures of the Knight, says:—"Hit may wel be that of auncyent tyme it hath been thus; but I have spoken with dyverse men that have ben therein, and one of them was a hye canon of Waterford, which told me he had been therin eight or nine tymes, and he saw ne suffred no such thynges. And in lykewyse tolde to me a worshypful knyght of Bruges, Sir John de Banst, that he had ben therin in lykewyse, and see none other thynge but as afore was said."

Several other writers about the same period speak contradictingly of the legends. Pontieus Virunnius, in his *Britannica Historia*, quotes one Clausius Biraguas, who had been four times in Ireland, to the following effect:—"In a lake in Ireland is St. Patrick's pit, an island in which there is a cave, having a descent of six stone steps, but in no respect according to the fables commonly told of it. For I entered and saw it all my self."[r] Albert Krantz, too, in his history of the northern nations, written in the fifteenth century, classes the Purgatory with the wild legends of Scandinavia, saying:—"The Irish remember a Purgatory of a sometime saint called Patrick; but such dreams and flitting phantoms, mere old women's tales, I did not think proper to insert in a history of real transactions."[s]

The increasing intelligence of the period must have greatly augmented the number of unbelievers, and led to the suppression of the Purgatory, in 1497, by order of Pope Alexander VI. The learned Jesuit, Bollandus, however, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, assigns, as the immediate cause of its suppression, the inordinate rapacity of its custodians. The story, as related by Bollandus, is exceedingly amusing,

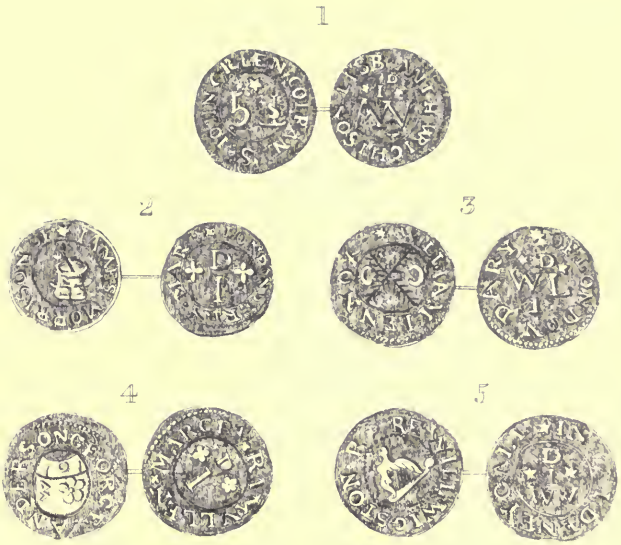
[r] In Hiberniam etiam est puteus Sancti Patricii: in lacu est enim insula, ubi puteus per sex gradus in saxo descendit; non ut mythici canunt in foro, ego ingressus omnia vidi.

[s] Hybernici Purgatorium memorant Sancti aliquando Patricii. Somnia et monstra volitantia, quæ apilibus naeniis propiora sunt, rerum gestarum ordini non putavi inserenda.—*Daniæ, Suecia, Norvegiæ Chronica.*

and I regret that space compels me to curtail it. A pious monk of Eymstadt, in Holland, having obtained permission from his superiors to visit holy places, in the character of a religious mendicant, came to Lough Derg, and solicited entrance into the Purgatory. The prior informed him that he was out of order, that he could not obtain admission without a license from the bishop of the diocese. The monk then went to the bishop, but as he was poor, and poor-looking, the prelate's servants gave him the "not at home," and shut the door in his face. The monk, however, as we shall see, was a man of energy and perseverance; so he waited till he saw the bishop, and then falling on his knees, solicited the license. Certainly, said the bishop, but you must first pay me a certain sum of money, my usual fee. The monk replied boldly, saying that he was a religious mendicant, that the gifts of God should not be sold for money, audaciously hinted that such a proceeding was tainted with the leprosy of Simony, and by dint of sturdy solicitation succeeded in obtaining the license. The bishop then told him that that was not all; he must next go and obtain permission from the prince of the territory. The monk went to the prince, who, in turn, demanded his fee; but at last wearied out by the importunity of the monk, and seeing that he could not receive what the other had not to give, the prince conceded the required permission. The monk then returned to the prior, fortified with the licenses of the bishop and lord of the soil; but was most ungraciously received. The prior could not understand how the monk could have the audacity to come there without money, when he knew that the convent was solely supported by the fees of pilgrims. The undaunted Dutchman spoke as boldly to the prior as he had to the bishop; and at last, with a very bad grace, he was permitted to go through the prescribed ceremonies, and enter the Purgatory. In a high state of religious excitement and expectation the monk was shut up in the cave; but alas! he did not see, hear, or feel anything during the whole twenty four hours.[1] Some, probably, would have taken a different view of the matter, but the disappointed and enthusiastic monk, firmly believing the truth of the legends, considered that the miracle had ceased on account of its having been a source of profit. So, making the best of his way to Rome, the monk represented the whole affair to the sovereign Pontiff, and the result was the following record, which appears under the year 1497, in the Dublin copy of the *Annals of Ulster*:—

"The Cave of St. Patrick's Purgatory, in Lough Derg, was destroyed about the Festival of Saint Patrick, this year, by the Guardian of Donegal, and by the representatives of the Bishop in the Deanery of Lough Erne, by authority of the Pope; the people in general having understood from the history of the Knight and other old books, that this was not the Purgatory which St. Patrick obtained from God, though the people in general were visiting it."

[1] It may be that the moneyless monk, not being the right sort of man for the prior, was purposely put into the wrong place: for the above relation states that he was lowered down to a great depth by means of a rope, and supplied with a crust of bread and a vessel of water, to support the flesh during its encounter with the spiritual world.



NOTICES OF LOCAL TOKENS ISSUED IN ULSTER.—No. 1.

In addition to the articles on the Local Tokens of Ulster which have already appeared in this Journal, it will be desirable to bring under notice such other tokens as may be discovered, and which may happen to be unpublished. The accompanying five are of that character, being, so far as the writer is aware, entirely *unique*.

No. 1 was found recently in Lisburn, and seems rather difficult to explain, as it appears to present on each side a different name; the residence or place of issue in both cases being also two distinct towns far separate from one another. I confess myself quite at a loss to explain this anomaly: but perhaps some of the readers of the Journal who have bestowed attention on this branch of Numismatics (if an inquiry into the history of local tokens can be dignified with such a title) will be able to throw some light on it, or to say whether any other examples of the kind are known. The contraction "Lisb." taken in connection with the locality in which the token was found, can scarcely be understood to have any other meaning than "Lisburn;" or, if any other of a character at all probable could be suggested, then it might be considered as a Coleraine token only: but this would require that the legend on that side should be understood to refer by some means to a place, and not to a person, which it more naturally seems to do. Could the two individuals have been co-partners in trade, or under some other arrangement have mutually agreed to adopt the novel design of a joint token? What at first sight appears to be a misshapen figure 5 seems to be rather 16, the latter letter inverted: but I cannot discover the meaning or allusion in the letters or character adjoining it in the

field. How, again, is the small *t* or *r*, following the s on the Coleraine side, to be explained? Possibly some readers in that town, either from local knowledge or otherwise, might be able to offer an explanation. This curious token is in excellent preservation, and though without date, may be safely described as one of the 17th century. It is in the possession of the Very Rev. Dean Stannus, of Lisburn.

The writer is indebted to the Rev. Thomas Olphert, of Newtonlimavady, for the drawings of the other four tokens on the plate, and for the following information respecting them. They belong to his brother, Wybrants Olphert, Esq., of Ballyconnell House, county Donegal, on whose property at Ballynass Bay, in that county, they were found; together with numerous specimens in bronze, of pins, rings, spurs, buckles, brooches, bracelets, needles, bodkins, pieces of silver supposed to be fragments of ring money, and smoking-pipes; the entire forming a most miscellaneous collection of objects apparently of entirely different eras. It appears that when storms prevail on that coast, the sand-hills, with which it is now in many parts encumbered, are blown away; and when such occur in the place mentioned, the remains of old buildings are exposed to view, in or near which, these articles, including the tokens, have been from time to time picked up. Some of these sand-hills, fully thirty feet in height, have been thus displaced with this result. Much of that part of Donegal having, in the beginning of the reign of James I., been granted to the Hart family, and an extensive portion of it, including the manor of Ballynass, the locality in which these remains of houses are discovered, having been subsequently, or about the year 1634, conferred by royal patent on Wybrants Olphert, the ancestor of the present possessor, it has been supposed that one of those families (most probably the former, the latter having been of Dutch origin) induced English settlers to take up their abode in this place, and that these are the ruins of their habitations. The spot on which they are, however, being exactly opposite the island of Torry, where there is still the most direct and constant communication between it and the mainland, and the tradition of the country assigning great antiquity to them, there is little doubt, taking into account the ecclesiastical remains on that interesting island, the numerous objects of antiquity discovered at the houses, and other circumstances, that tradition is in this instance a true guide, and that the buildings are of far older date than the era of tokens, or the "Ulster plantation." It is not quite correct to call them "buildings," as no walls in reality remain, but heaps of stones, some apparently as if all burnt, others in a circle, with a place inside formed for a fire; but the whole evidently the confused ruins of the abodes of men. It is, therefore, conjectured, with every appearance of probability, that the first English settlers, the descendants of many of whom are still in the country, located themselves on that part of the coast which the natives had before occupied. This belief is induced by the tradition; but still more by the finding in conjunction, or in close neighbourhood, such a medley of antiquarian objects, some certainly recent, others belonging, in the opinion of inquirers, to an age the most remote. A continued occupation from a very distant time in this place, would seem to be in a measure established; the unresisted encroachment of nature finally bringing it to a close.

This digression from the subject of tokens will be excused for the interesting facts it communicates. The other objects found with those now figured may form the subject of future description and illustration. The tokens themselves do not present any remarkable features beyond the circumstance of having been hitherto undescribed. They, as well as the Lisburn token, are all without date; but they are also of the 17th century. Two are of Derry, one of Rathmullen, and the fourth of "Deneygall," as it is spelled on the coin. There are some letters on the last named, but most of them are illegible. They express, it may be supposed, the occupation of William Wigston, the issuer, or more minutely describe his place of residence; but I am unable even to guess at their actual meaning. It is highly probable, that additional tokens as well as other articles more valuable and curious still, will turn up in this locality; and it is to be hoped they will be carefully preserved to assist in illustrating the past state of a part of Ulster not so much known as it should be, but believed to be, like many others, a fertile field for historical and antiquarian research. G. B.

ANCIENT IRISH INCOME.

Among many circumstances of contrast between an Irish chief and an English earl of the 16th century, the most marked is the difference in their revenues or fiscal power. Large money rents which increased with time, and agricultural services, comprised the returns of the *land*-lord. But the financial resources of the *clan*-lord cannot be so shortly described, because, as the clansmen were the *owners* and occupiers of the country, their chieftain's receipts were rather in the nature of salary than revenue; and the term "fiscal" is hardly descriptive of them (few being bursal) or of his exactions and imposts authorised by custom. In brief, his income, as contrasted with the Englishman's, consisted in small and unincreasable chief rents, *cáins* or fines, "black rent," shares of *cries*, received mostly in the shape of produce and cattle; and, as a large addition to these personal receivings, there were multifarious services, the nature of some of which may now be examined.

Returns from tenants accrued to the more powerful chiefs who enjoyed mensal land as an appanage of their office; but others were almost landless, for, by the fundamental law of gavel, the chieftain was entitled to no more than equality, and all that he received beyond this arose from customs. To understand the origin of these customs, those of a very early age must be referred to.

Under primordial Gaelic polity, the ruler of a tribe, besides being debarred from the expectation that his office might be made heritable, was particularly forbidden to retain anything as his own, lest he should be tempted by avarice; and he was compelled to be equitable by the law of gavel or equality, which was so strict that "all things belonged to all." "But he was maintained at the public expense."[a]

[a] Solinus.

This mere maintenance, according as the clan and its wealth increased, assumed various forms, some of which are about to be described: and, it is remarkable that, while gavel remained in force among the clansmen, their chieftains, though originally interdicted from possessing property, and whose power primevally and simply, was founded on the obedience commanded to be given to the senior brother, acquired largely from customs, and in many instances became hereditary owners of the clan country. Yet much evidence might be advanced of the strictness with which the fundamental laws were long observed, such as the gavel made in the fourteenth century, by the head of an O'Brien sept, which Vallancey considered "the most disinterested and generous that could be imagined;" but was merely in accordance with the usages of gavel and fraternal seigniory. This chieftain allotted two-thirds, and half of one-third of the country to several families of whom he was remotely the senior; portioned the other half among his five brothers, parted to his three sons his *own* share, which was but one-sixth of half of one-third of the whole; and only reserved a small head-rent from his brothers; so that the seigniories of more than two-thirds of the country were received by the elders of other families; an arrangement proving, as Vallancey remarked, that there was here real community, corresponding with Strabo's account of the Asiatics of Iberia, whose possessions were in common among families where the senior was the ruler. To this head of the tribe it became customary to make offerings as senior; and hence, down to the seventeenth century, his dues, (such as those rendered to the Earl of Clancarthy, as "MacCarthy More") enumerated as "chief-rents, silver-rents, and customs of beeves, swine, butter, oats, bere, bran, and honey, with all other services," were termed "seigniories."[b] This being the origin of the term, Lord Clancarthy's heir might have literally declared that the English officer to whom these valuable viands were then granted, had, in the words of Bolingbroke, "fed upon his seigniories." Such receipts anciently were mere maintenance rather than rent. The revenue of this earl was so inconsiderable, even after the commutation of his dues into money, that the multitudinous race tributary to him, together with demesnes, yielded him no more in annual value than £266.[c] Rory, "Lord O'More," *anno* 1544, held but one townland, worth £10 yearly, "in right of the captainship" of Leix, a region co-extensive with the present King's County; and the emoluments of his office, in "customs, duties, perquisites, and profits," were only worth £100 a year.[d] When in 1526 Mageoghegan was made lord over the "Fox's country," and while it was agreed to pay him either a hog or a sheep from every *gneere* (about ten acres) throughout it, he himself obtained but one *gneere* as demesne land.[e] Yet among the O'Sullivans, as their chief, Sir Owen, stated—"one half of the country was allotted by auncient custom to the O'Swlyvan, for the tyme being."[f] The Earl of Tyrone was landlord of the mensal lands of "O'Neill," but as head of the tribe received only part of their seignioral renderings, all of which did not,

[b] Pat. Jac. I. p. 110.
[c] Crew MS. 625.
[d] Leg. Com. Rec. S. P. O.
[e] Arch. Misc. I. 191.
[f] 1587. S. P. O.

in 1610, exceed £700 a year; the residue being reserved by "the heads" (seniors) "of the principal men of the *creaghts*;" and his receipts in "oatmeal, butter, sheep," &c., were given him by but a few minor septs, and "were rather at the discretion of the givers, who strove who should give most to gain his favour, than for any due claim he had to demand the same."[g] It is evident, from this statement, that most of the renderings to the chief originated in a desire to obtain his favour and protection, which was the best consideration he could return; and, as the offerings were in the shape of provisions, the sole use he could make of them was in keeping a house open to the givers. Dues that were regular "chief-rents" could not be increased: so that neither his expenditure, nor power of adding to his income, resembled those of English landlords; who expended their funds in various ways at their pleasure, and who, as Chaucer says, in his Ploughman's Tale, could double their rental. The relationship between a chief and his clan, differing altogether from that of landlord and tenant, (the basis of which is a simple contrast for the hire of land,) was a generous reciprocity of services; and, as his sources of income were not private property, his expenditure was public like his station.

The partitional occupancy of a country belonging to a great tribe, and the republican character of the renderings for the usufruct of the land, are succinctly described, *anno* 1515,[h] as a division of "the region betwyxt the chyef captayne and depuyte captaynes," who delivered the land "to their men as meate, drynke, and wages; nothing receyving therefor but their servyce dayly at their own cost, and certayne custome in meate and drynke, as at Christmas and Easter, and as ofte as great straungers cometh to the captayne. Also, as ofte as the captayne makith any great cost for the comyn-wealle of his realm, that cost shall be cessed equally on all his men. That is all the rent they pay." These renderings of an equal tribe were evidently not rent, but public services and taxes, the main object of which was to uphold a fensible militia. The "dayly serveyce" resembled military feudal tenure; and seigniorial subordination regulated the system. Each "deputye captayne" was answerable for "the rising out" of his men, and also for their small seignioral chief-rent. McCarthy More delivered "the rod" of office to a captain of the clan Carthy, who then became the O'Donoughue, and commander of a subaltern, McAuliffe, whose men were each entitled to "a portion" of land in their country, which was modernly divided into numerous "men's portions;"[i] and he rendered the chief-rents, in victual, called *sorren*,[k] to McCarthy More, and also to his immediate senior, O'Donoughue. Tribute and service were due from the *tribe*, not from the *land*. Specific services were hereditarily performed for McCarthy More by particular *clanns*, or junior septs, in thatching his "paillis" or palace with straw, carting home his wine, &c. So late as the time of L. D. Perrott, while a crown-tax was levied off English baronies by townlands, it was rated on every Celtic tribe according to the wealth of each one of their minor *clanns*; because the real property of every such fraternity of occupiers consisted in cattle. The "*croes*" or

[g] Rem. Rell. 9[illegible], Jac. I.
[h] S. P. II. 5.
[i] Pat. Jac. I. p. 28[illegible].
[k] Carew MS. 625.

herds, of various species, formed, with the herdsmen, a *creaght*, which moved along the hills and through the woods, rendering, as a seignioral due, either one of each species of "*cro*," or sometimes, on the death of their "can-finny"[l] *(ceann finè*, or head of the kin owning the stock,) the best as a *heriot;* or else a few pence per head. As among the Germans, no limit of space was assigned to the occupancy. Tyrone did not "sett any certain portion of land;" and his receipts of chief-rent were therefore uncertain, because the *can-finnys*, as "free tenants," could "by the custom of the country" remove from under "one lord to another."

The "certayne custome" above alluded to, of rendering victual, had many ramifications, a few of which may be noticed. The Gaelic military force, whose *status* is well expressed in ancient ballads by the designationof "the Kempery men" or men of the camp, were, with their *taoiseach*, or leader, supported throughout the country by the *creaghts*—a practice used by the Earl of Tyrone as lately as the 17th century.[m] The primary "rent" to the king, (of which presently,) and other charges, some of which also became a species of rent, arose from this nomad mode of maintenance. During peace, as Davyes observed, the chief of the Feara-managh asked no more than he was entitled to :—"But in time of war," wrote Sir John, "marry! he made himself owner of all; taxing as he listed, and imposing as many *bonaghts* or hired soldiers as he had occasion to use." The king was then justly empowered to exert every means, and raise the sinews of defensive war by an impost which was not for his own particular benefit, and the very name of which, *bon-eaght*, signifies the original payment rendered by maintaining the military. To sustain armed defenders was with clansmen the next duty to that of rising at the *gairm sluaigh;* and accordingly follows it in a list of "duties and rents" to McCarthy More; being the custom of rendering to the chief and his men two principal articles of Irish sustenance, namely oatmeal and butter, which, as the custom had now become "certayne," were given by measure, and therefore termed *sorren*. Bonaght, or the primary charge of maintaining soldiery, was specially due on land modernly held by *sorren* tenure;[n] and this *sorren* seems to have been the *coigne-bon*,[o] or refection originally given them; being, as the record states, "otherwise *coigne*, as extorted by the Earl of Desmond, who was supposed to have invented this exaction, which he but adopted from the Irish." Originally it was merely "a night's meal" upon the land where "the earl passed through with his forces;" that is, on which the troop encamped. But as such a tax was uncertain, it was unequal; and therefore *sorren more*, if the chief did "not come in place to spend it," became a "rent." For every parcel of land was "charged with its own portion time out of mind;" having been commuted, from an unlimited refection, into a measure or "*sroan*," namely "a gallon and a half of oaten flour made of burnt oats, and a *quirren pottle*, or 10lbs. of butter, valued in times past the one at 4d. and the other a groat;"—and every parcel of sorren land sent certain numbers of these measures to the earl's residence. The earl also received his sorren from junior

[l] Pat. Jac. I.
[m] Arch. Tracts, II. 30.
[n] 1587. S. P. O. "Desmond's rents," and Ware, I. 74.
[o] S. P. II. 502.

chiefs such as O'Donoughue, O'Callaghan, &c., and from a priory whence it was due, either in kind, or (at the prior's and "deputy captayne's" choice) in money, each chief-rent being valued at £4 8s. 8d. While some districts paid this rent, other *ceann-cinès* and monasteries were "charged with the higher "tenure "[p] of receiving the chief and his train at *cuid-oidche*, or supper, equivalent to the modern dinner. The explanatory term for this provision, namely "a portion, a meal, or a refection,"[q] (*cuid* is a part or share,) seems to denote the chief's gavel right to a *coigne*, or meal, as his partakeable portion of the fruits of the land. It seems also that the original method by which the nomad *Ri* was maintained was by these visitations, which came as such to be called "cosherie" —possibly derived from *cios-ri*, viz., cess or rent for the king. This primitive mode of a chieftain maintaining his train in the houses of the clansmen, (against which the very first printed statute, *anno* 1310, and another act of 1634, were specially directed,) was revived after the confiscations of the 17th century; when some of the kindliest feelings of human nature conspired to renew this ancient custom in order to support the families of the fallen chiefs. The antiquity of the practice is, of course, greater than any native records; which, however, refer to it in deeds as early in date as the 11th century, when a certain petty king in Meath relinquished the right of having a night's *coinme* every quarter of a year at the tenement of a herenagh at Ardbracan,[r] and the king of Leinster released certain land "*a procuracione et expedicione mea*," the former term implying provision for himself, and the latter, military service and the charge of *bonaght*.[s] These two charges were evidently the fundamental imposts on land. There was also an offering called in Latin *satellitum poturæ*, drink for the king and his retinue, the exaction of which is alluded to in an ancient grant to an abbey.[t] When in 1535 O'Neill renounced "refectiones vel expenses, quæ dicuntur proprie coyne, livery, coydeis, vel talia poculenta" (drinkings) "inter Anglicos,"[u] he, in effect, promised to relieve the subjected Englishry from expending them by cosherie. The Latin word *expenses* is of course a translation of the English term for the outlay made in the reception of a chief and his retinue by the Irish tenantry; who, even in the 17th century, continued the ancient communistic custom of yielding convivial refections or "common spendings" instead of paying rent: a practice vindicated by Spenser, and which was at first a payment for what was actually rented from the king and his troops,—namely, protection. It was the most popular eulogium of any chieftain to declare him the spender and defender of his clan.

Modern great lords often feast their tenantry on the rent-day, and their incomes are derived from vast earldoms that belonged to their ancestors in times when the Gaelic *seignear* received no more than his share of a feast—which, with his lodging, was termed *cuid-oidche*, originally called a supper, but literally a "portion for one night." In the same manner this refection was at first the

[p] Sir W. St. Leger, 1589. S. P. O.
[q] Carew MS. 626.
[r] Arch. Misc. I. 143.
[s] Regist. of All Hallows, 50, 126.
[t] Harris' Ware, I. 75.
[u] S. P. H.

coinme and sole wages of the military: and it would seem that *eaught*,[v] a supper, is the origin of *eacht*, payment. *Buannacht bona*, i.e. the primary renderings, became "customary services;"[w] and the first usage, that of giving *sorren*, grew in course of time into the formal payment of rent.

In the 17th century *sorren* continued to be the head-rent of West Connaught; each quarter of land paying yearly certain measures of meal—"Hibernicè vocatos *sruans*, cum sufficiente butiro." This was the "greddan meal and butter" said to have been presented in 1603 to O'Neill of Castlereagh by his servants, and which *Anglicè* was "strowan"—see *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. III., page 134; and page 160, showing that oatmeal was partly the feudal rent of Ulster in the 13th century; also vol. II., page 139, that "corn and butter" was the principal "living" of O'Neill and his clan. "Sorren land," probably for most part arable, designated a freehold liable to this rendering; as "mart land," mostly pasture, may have been one whence a *mart* (the term still known in Scotland for a "beef" or salted cow) was to be sent in, for (as Sir John O'Reilly expressed it,) "the spending of his house."[x] In Ophaly every plough-land rendered 24 sieves of oats, value 5s., and two beeves, value, 4s. 2d., to O'Conor, besides being liable to "taxes and customs."[y] This was *anno* 1550; and a rent so unusually regular was probably a composition arranged at the time when Henry VIII. was to have created the ruling chieftain a viscount. *Sorren* and *mart*, or meal and salted butter and beef, were the secondary form in which receipts from land accrued to the chieftain; who, in early ages, as has been seen, was interdicted from possessing anything, though all belonging to the clan was freely at his service: "of their own accord, they gave him so many cattle, or a certain portion of grain"[z]—rude offerings subsequently made more acceptable by preparation for use; and these are apparently typified in the ceremony, used in inaugurating a "public officer,"[a] and especially the king, of throwing wheat and salt over him as symbols that the plentifulness of peace should attend his reign.[b] Another ceremony of more antique times, that of the chief-elect and his clan eating of the same meat and drinking from the same vessel, marked the community of property in food; and their equality was further insisted on by denying to the chief the use of any "cuppe or dish:"[c]—these at least seem to be the meaning of parts of an installatory ceremonial which was evidently misrepresented to Giraldus Cambrensis. Equality of rank was strangely mingled with individual power in the position of the chieftain. To wear a similar garb, and to live sociably and on equal terms with the clansmen, secured to him their hearts. At court Tyrone was an earl: yet when there, he declared he would rather be "O'Neill" than Philip of Spain:—but among the Cinel Eoghain he was merely the first of themselves, and, living among them in their simplicity of life, often received his "king's rent" as "eosheric" in their dwellings; or the feast was in the open

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[v] Act of 1634.
[w] Four Masters, p. 1601.
[x] Carew MS. 614.
[y] S. P. O. 1550.
[z] Logan's Gael, I. 171.
[a] Camden, 469.
[b] Pac. Hib. I. 163.
[c] Campion.

air, where he held his court and the brehons gave judgment; and, when seated among his clan "on a green bank," he was (as a contemporary observed) "in his greatest majesty."[d]

Penalties conceded to the king as the enforcer of *càins* or legal fines were probably his earliest receipts by right. The first-mentioned in a list of dues to the chief of West Connaught, in the 17th century, is a sevenfold fine in every species of cattle for "stealths," which some Anglo-Irish lords endeavoured to prevent by fining the suffering tenant for his want of vigilance.[e] A portion of every *eric*, (was like the Saxon *wite)* due to the chief for the homicide of men under his *comeric* or protection. O'Doyne paid a third of all *càins*, casualties, &c., arising in his country, to a potent neighbour, O'Conor, for his *comeric*.[f] All who were under the rule of McCarthymore were called "his *cane* poble,"[g] or people subject to his law and its penalties. Fines were various and numerous, and must have formed a considerable ingredient of income from a large and populous region.

The much reprobated practice of receiving *coigne* (made illegal on account of its abuse) was, besides being the original receipt of the chieftain, in fact his only means of subsistence when outside his territory, in times when the non-existence of either money or hostelries precluded him from aught but availing himself of the "old custom of giving meat and drinke."[h] There was an ancient usage in Galway of giving "*connome* and meales" to the leader of the Arran galloglasses and his men, whenever they came to the town.[i] Even in the metropolitan county, and in the 17th century, the receiving "coigne and livery" was partly the consideration for which land was let: it being stipulated in a lease dated 1613, that the lessee, the Archbishop of Dublin, should provide sufficient victual and lodging for two boys, with horse-meat and stabling for three horses, on the premises, whenever the landlord, Sir R. Nugent, resorted to Dublin.[j]

Coigne or refection, when systematically due, was specially named "the custom of *cuddikie*," and warranted the chief in coming "with such company as pleaseth him to the lands charged with that tenure, and in taking meat and drink of the inhabitants thereof for the space of four meales, at four tymes of the yere."[k] This "custom" was, in fact, the quarterly rendering which appears by many antique records to have been the fundamental rent-charge on land. When the *Ri* was on visits to his vassals under this usage, he was said to "have his people" or train "in cosherie"[l]—that is, taking his *cios* as a king. The provisions for the occasion seem to have been obtained by assessment on the tribe holding the land, *cios* being a tribute or contribution: hence is derived the word "cess," peculiar to Ireland, having the same root as the Latin and French terms that imply an assessment levied *tributim*, and anciently used to denote the charge upon the tenantry of "the Pale," of maintaining the troops of the Crown. The method of collection by contribution was continued in

d Capt. B. Riche, (of Colerane) p. 2.
e Present. of co. Waterford, 1537, Add. MS. 4819.
f S. P. O. 1550.
g Present. of Cork, 1576. S. P. O.
h *Ibid.* 1535. S. P. H. 287.
i Hardiman's Galway, p. 207.
j Pat. 13. Jac. I. p. 283.
k Sir W. St. Leger.
l 1587 Desmond's Rents.

the 17th century, for the purpose of supporting the needy descendants of dispossessed chieftains by "coshering." This practice was denounced by the statute of 1634, because it sustained thousands of young "idel," or noble, swordsmen, who soon afterwards broke out into general insurrection to recover their lands; and who "cessed themselves, their followers, horses, and greyhounds, upon the country," receiving "their *caught* and *adraugh*, viz., supper and breakfast," and craving helps; to supply which, and their "entertainment," the country-people made "cuts, levies, and plotments upon themselves."

Vassals who held land by the tenure of receiving their chieftain at *cuid-oidche* appear to have been of superior rank to the frank-tenants of sorren-land, which was liable to "bonaght" for gallo-glasses.[m] The same custom prevailed, of course, in Gaelic Scotland. In a comparatively modern rent-roll of a Scots laird there occurs the—"*Item*, for cuidoich, 20s.," receivable yearly, if he did not use his right to lodge for one night in his tenant's house.[n] Curious as the practice is in its origin, it was subsequently well adapted to the requirements of a wide-spread clan, whose disputes with borderers often obliged their chieftain to visit the extremities of his territory. But it undoubtedly arose as a mode of maintenance; and having become a "rent," was commuted in Ireland, towards the close of the 16th century, into a money payment. "Cuddihie," as rendered to the Earl of Clancarthy, is termed "a portion" to be spent either at the freeholder's house or sent to the earl's "in a certain proportion of flesh, aqua-vitæ, ale, cows, and flour, or else in lieu, £4 8s. 8d." This composition had been effected by government commissioners, who valued this charge as due by certain monasteries, and "sorren" by others, at the same rate. Their labours (of which bye and bye) seem to have been permanently successful in Munster. In the 17th century, O'Driscoll continued to pay McCarthy-reagh a sum equivalent to about £150 a year at present, in lieu of entertaining him at supper;[o] and McBrien Ara received some hard cash, with certain heads of various cattle, instead of all "customs, refections, impositions or cess of horse and horse-boys, contributions of sragh, sorohin, and bonnagh, duties, casualties, aids, benevolences or free-gifts, cuttings, cosheries, or other advantages, claims, and demands."[p] But the tribes in the wilds of Connaught seem to have retained their old mode of rendering tribute; as appears by a record that a certain "clan" paid rent, as such, in the form of "bread, drink, and flesh, at Christmas, and a proportion of bread, butter, and drink, at Easter, yearly."[q] When rent came in to Lord Clancarthy in such gross and live forms as cattle, accompanied by loads of merchandise, to the pre-emption of which when landed at his seaports this chieftain was entitled, the arrival might have been announced to him like that of the bulky bribes the poet wrote of:—

"Huge bales of British cloth block up your door;
A hundred oxen at your levee roar!"

[m] Do.
[n] Logan, I. 212.
[o] Celtic Miscel. 196.
[p] Pat. 6. Jac. p. 39.
[q] W. Con. 58.

Even at the close of the 16th century the Scottish border lairds reckoned their revenues, not by rents in money, but by chauldrons of victuals:[r] the income of our Irish lords resembled theirs; and as, in earlier ages, these vivers were mostly consumed in clansmen's dwellings, some immediate requirements of the chief, when of a public nature, were supplied by customary contributions. Thus the custom in 1515 of sending provisions to the residence of the *Ri* whenever any "greate straunger" visited him, may have originated in voluntary offerings to enable befitting hospitality to be shown to an *Ard Ri;* and in later times became a money assessment called *southe*, by which the expense of visits from the lord deputy or any great personages (generally on political missions) was defrayed by the clan. Under the custom named *Sraghe*, money was levied by "great lords to bear their charges in going to parliaments, councils, or burgh townes."[s] This tax has a feudal aspect; but, as well as being raised by the peer, it was also rendered to the chieftain, who often required to resort to the metropolis as the seat of government, being the organ of the clansmen for transacting business affecting the "common wealle." Accordingly, O'Reilly received a yearly subsidy "towards his charges in going to Dublin;" and "all manner of fees and recompenses given by him to any learned counsel or agent for the cause of the contry were payed by the said contry." Among the grievances represented to the High Commissioners of 1537 were—that Lady Poer, who governed the wide territory of her son, a minor, "cesseth sore charges of money as ofte as she is going to Dublin;" and that she was then, with that purpose, levying a tax that included the cost of a "convivcing lately given by her to her father," the Earl of Ormond. This levy was in accordance with the custom of *southe*, explained by Sir Warham St. Leger as an impost covering town expenses and those of receiving the viceroy "or any other stranger of countenance." The exaction, whenever guests came, specially termed *mart-tigh*,[t] (beef for the house,) was demanded "if the lord deputy or any great man be convivied, as a subsidy to furnish meat, drink, and candle-light." This must have been an extension of the original offering of *mart*, and had become so usual that it could hardly be called an exaction—a term that, indeed, cannot fairly be applied to many other similar dues; for they were either rendered for purposes of public interest or had arisen from the customary liberality which clansmen maintained their chief in his dignity. Yet some of these receivings, originating in illimitable gifts to the senior, became "seigniories," and as such were demanded as privileges, of which the evils were—that while defined custom confers a legal right, these were indefinite, and there was no appeal against the demands of the *Tierna more*, on whose personal character their justice must have much depended.

The appointment of commissioners for the commutation of "uncertain customs and extraordinary charges" into rent, emanated from the excellent viceroy Sir Henry Sidney,[u] and commenced in 1579, when some lords and chiefs "showed good minds to settle all things well, according to the English

[r] Morgan's Itinerary.
[s] Council Book, Add. MS. 4790.
[t] Present. of Clonmel.
[u] Collins, I. 154.

manner." As an instance of the relief given by the abolition of "Irish exactions," a document setting forth their "evil consequences"[v] mentions "the excess of joy of old McMorrogh," (the chief of a sept under O'Rourke), "and his blessing the good quene at the time O'Rourke's composition was made."

Arising from vague usage, the rights of the chief were most uncertain; for they depended on brehonic decisions; were enforced by his own officers, no other law than his being known; and were at this period undergoing change, from rent in kind, into money payments. It is probable that the compositions were only observed wherever the law could be enforced by sheriffs. In Connaught, where the restraint of English rule was scarcely felt, and each chieftain was an autocrat, the new arrangements proved nugatory. During the subsequent rebellion in that province, the president, Bingham, declared to Lord Burleigh, that "the cause" for which the leaders were striving was the re-assumption of the "old seigniories, with their unlawful cuttings, exactions, and all other Irish customs, according to their *tanis* law; for," wrote he, "before those seigniories were abolished, they were great in commanding men as their subjects, and rich, in that they might charge those under them as they would:"—and, added he:—"After this manner of law and customs no man had property—*meum* and *tuum* was not known." This was no new state of things, having continued from the primeval age when "all things belonged to all." Continued gavel, having equality for its object, produced communism, which is known to have existed in the fourteenth century; but in succeeding times resulted in a single warrior, whose station originally gave merely a right to be maintained as senior of the fraternity, becoming despotic over its land and property. The observations of the governor of Connaught are in part borne out by the celebrated Grana O'Mailley, who, in accounting to government, when in London, for the means by which she had supported herself, incidentally stated that "rents, services, and reservations were not certain, but confused; the people, for fear, yielding to the chieftains whatever they would crave, more than of right what they ought to have." She adduced this uncertainty as the reason why "the contries of Conaght *among the Irishry* never yelded thirds to the ladies thereof;" and mentioned, also, that "chieftains, on account of their great expenses," seldom had anything to bequeath; consequently, although the relict of the lords of Iar-Connaught and Mayo, she had neither income nor property beyond some 1,000 kine and mares, which must have proceeded from her portion, or "marriage," as she terms it in a subsequent explanation of dowry customs. But the real reason why a chieftain could not endow with rents was that he himself had less than a life-interest in them; being merely a recipient in right of an office from which he was liable to be deposed. In this respect, as in many another, a Gaelic territory contrasted strongly with a feudal barony, whose hereditary landlord could be customarily charged with payment of "thirds" of rent. Thus we read that:—"Dame Elinor, the Earl of Desmond's sister, divorced from Sir Richard Butler, had in recompense of all her marriage goods

[v] S. P. O. 27. Sep. 1589.

but 100 mares; and the same ladie married to Thomas Tobyn," (St. Aubyn, baron of Camsinagh), "had but 20 mares yearly for all her thirds."[w] Yet, although, as Grana O'Mailley angrily declared of Irish *tiernas*, it was "the rude custom of their ancestors never to yield thirds," many provisions were made for *ban tiernas*, among which was their income, called *cane-beg*, or the small tax, leviable off the country, and resembling the "queen's gold" received by the consorts of great monarchs. The fisheries of Killarney appertained to the Countess of Clancarthy, probably a perquisite of the *paillis*, the marshal of which, who was also weir-man of the river Laune, was entitled to five mares, or as many good hackneys, on the marriage of each of her daughters. Lady Poer used to levy "sheep for the handmaidens," perhaps as *tochra* or ovine portions for them, being daughters of *duine uassals*:—and her son-in-law received in "ward" marriage a sheep from every *croo* or sheep-house, and a cow from every village throughout the Poer country—an exaction which, as well as being warranted by feudal custom, was probably also in Gaelic use. In earlier times a baron of the crown would sue for and obtain license to have reasonable aid from his knights and free-tenants, towards the marriage of his eldest daughter; but a writ was at the same time directed to the sheriff to supervise the levy, in which, moreover, the form of the statute had to be observed;[x]—precautions of law to which the independent Gaelic *Ri* was not amenable.

Of all a chieftain's privileges the most startling, but not the least defensible, was his right of pre-emption of goods about to be sold by the farmers of his land;—a prerogative enforced by *cáine-eacht*, i.e., penalty for sale. With great lords of sea-coast territories, such as O'Neill, O'Brien, &c., this right extended to all merchandise landed in their ports When the former potentate renounced, in 1535, "emciones, vulgariter nuncupatas kennaghtes, inter Anglicos," he probably undertook to relieve the merchants of Carrickfergus, Coleraine, &c., from this restriction on free-trade. The burgesses of Clonmel complained, *anno* 1537, that "Donell McKeagh, of the mountain, hath ordained that none of his tenants shall sell any hides but to himself at a certain price." And in Kildare, at the same period, the lord of "Brymyeham's country maketh it for a lawe that no one take anything to market but only to his wife, and she to make the price."[y] Throughout the Pale, whenever "a poore farmour sold an oxe, cowe, hide," &c., without first "offering" or giving the refusal of it to his lord, "commonly 6s. 8d. was taken as *cane*; and yet his lord wold not give therfor nothing so much as the thing may be sold for."[z] This apparent injustice was the last effect of slavery. The distinction between free and unfree goods is alluded to by Baron Finglas, at this period, when the *betagh* of the Pale was still, like the *attacot* under the Gaelic lords, a *neoff*, native, or serf; so that as he himself was the property of "his lord," he could not deem anything his own. From this point of view the renderings of all tenants who were not freemen (and they were the cultivators of the soil) were fully due to their master, whether lay or clerical; and to him the houses of the *biadtach*

[w] Council Book.
[x] Close Roll, 18. Ewd. II.
[y] D. Sutton, Add. MS. 4819.
[z] S. P. II. 504.

and of the good *herenachs*, the most hospitable of all classes, were freely open ; for, as the latter were wont to declare, all they possessed belonged to him, and they themselves were his.[a] Very many years did not elapse, however, before the stock—the floating capital of the poor farmer of the Pale, became his own by force of custom—a security that insured his industry ; and, if he also obtained, a lease-hold tenure of the fixed capital—the land,—increased the income of the landlord as well.

The great changes of the 16th century,—which were rather forced on the Gaelic people than adopted by them—from kingship to subjection, chieftaincy to ownership, small and fixed seignioral rents with customary dues to full and increasable rent—were long in being brought about within the Irish countries. Vitality was inherent in the customs of the land ; and though the freemen of a tribe became settled tenants, paying heavy rents, they did not cease to be clansmen, but willingly continued the usages of rendering hospitality, "duties," and service, to the race of their ancient kings. Homage to the sons of chiefs was signified and given in forms as of old, in the traditionary attachment that had formerly made chieftains rich and powerful, and by means of which their descendants still hoped to show the might of clannish power. At the close of the century "the very civillest" (most English) "of all the Irish races," are described as glorying in their descent from kings before the Conquest, and as "delighting in all their assemblies, by speech of the people, songs, rymes, and *daynes*," (odes,) "to be called *Mac I Ri* and *Ennion Mac I Ri*, sons and daughters of kings; and then to have services done them by the name of *Kish-rie*, or king's rents."[b] Before another century passed away, many a royal family had lost all maintenance by legal rent from land; and then the primitive rent to kings—the cosherie—relieved their distress in a mode sanctified by ancient manners and by the kindly affections and warm hearts of the Irish people.

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[a] Vallancey I. 183.

[b] S. P. O. 24 May, 1594.

"THE TRUE POSITION OF THE FORD OF BELFAST."

BY T. K. LOWRY, A.M.

HAVING, as the annotator of the Hamilton MSS., considered it necessary, before continuing their publication, to reply to a long and laboured article on "The true position of the Ford of Belfast," by Mr. Edmund Getty,* (controverting the views brought forward in my note on the subject, vol. 3, p. 246), I only deferred doing so pending the long litigated cause of *Donegall* v. *Templemore*, in which the position of *the* ford of Belfast was again to be submitted, as a matter of fact, to another special jury of the County of Antrim. That trial having since taken place, and with exactly the same result as before, I feel myself now at perfect liberty to say, that, having read Mr. Getty's article, with that respect and attention to which everything coming from his pen is entitled, I see no reason whatever to doubt any of the authorities, or to withdraw any of the opinions cited in my note, to prove that the ford of Belfast was situate *above* the site of the old "Long" or present "Queen's" Bridge. On the contrary, I am as fully convinced, as the jurors were who tried the question, that the position assigned to it by Mr. Getty is not only incredible, but absolutely impossible,—namely, that it was situate directly opposite to the old Ballast-office, or, in other words, immediately below and to sea-ward of the old harbour or creek of Belfast.

Of the exact situation of this old harbour, or creek, there is abundant proof; and, indeed, the following sentences, taken from a very correct and interesting article at p. 206 of the 3d vol. of this Journal, entitled "Reminiscences of Belfast," might be sufficient:—

"Before any quays were formed, the *embouchure* of the little stream which ran down High-Street, depositing its turbid waters in one of the extinct docks above-named, was the first and only harbour for ships in this now important port; and even long after the formation of these quays, it must have retained its use and character; as, in the *Belfast News-Letter* of 22nd May, 1770, a tobacconist advertises his goods, and describes himself and place of residence as 'James Simm, on the Old Kay, opposite the Church.' The quay extended as high up as Skipper-Street; a name itself suggestive of the vicinity of shipping."

It thus appears that the original port and harbour were, in the first instance, extended in a direct line of embankments into the river or channel; and the quays, so formed on both sides, were called Hanover and Chichester Quays; that the first quay, made parallel with the river, was from the end of Hanover Quay up to the Long Bridge, and was called the Custom-house Quay; and that it was not for a considerable time afterwards that the quays, commencing at the end of Chichester Quay,

* Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. 3, p. 309.

and running parallel with the river, were extended sea-wards, under the names of Merchants' Quay, Donegall Quay, &c. So that, according to Mr. Getty's theory, not only were the vessels frequenting the old port of Belfast obliged to sail over the ford or passage of Belfast, then the sole mode of communication (except by a ferry-boat) between the counties of Down and Antrim, but the merchants of the town, when its shipping increased so as to require new quays to be formed parallel with the river or channel, deliberately formed them *above* this great ford, instead of extending them sea-wards to avoid it, as they did *subsequently* to the date at which he fixes its removal, viz., between the years 1786 and 1792; in proof of which he gives copies of resolutions entered in the Ballast-office books, for the removal of *a* ford opposite Chichester-Street, "or so much thereof as could be effected for ten guineas," but the expense of which he thinks must have exceeded £1,000 in all. Now, if Mr. Getty had filled a whole number of this Journal, as no doubt he might do, with copies of resolutions which the Ballast Board has from time to time passed, for the removal of the various other fords in the channel, from Chichester Quay to the pool of Garmoyle, how would this have afforded a particle of proof as to "the true position of *the* Ford of Belfast?" That instead of its being a mere artificial obstruction in the channel or river, constructed of loose stones or timber, it was a great natural ford, *Fersad*, bar, or hard sand-bank, formed in the Lagan river, by the High-Street and Blackstaff rivers, as also by the Lagan itself and the refluent tide, Mr. Getty, with strange inconsistency, as it appears to me, produces some most valuable authorities to prove, in addition to those which I cited from the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and the local histories of *Harris*, *Benn*, *Berwick*, and *Reeves*. He however, complains that, in copying all the other notices which the latter accomplished author collected concerning the site of the ford, in his admirable work, *The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*, I had "inadvertently" omitted the following, (in his opinion) "very important words:"—

"The remains of *another* ford, composed of large stones regularly laid, which crossed the river exactly opposite to the Ballast-office, were lately removed by the Ballast Corporation."

As I should consider even the inadvertent omission of any statement of Dr. Reeves's on such a subject a serious charge against my accuracy, I must decline the apology so made for me by Mr. Getty; and, as he obliges me to do so, acknowledge that I did so deliberately, knowing that the information could only have been furnished to Dr. Reeves by Mr. Getty himself, and considering it just of the same value as the memoranda on the same subject, made in his copy of Dr. Reeves's work, which he cites with the observation that "they seem worthy of being preserved here, as recording the evidence of one of the parties employed in giving effect to the foregoing resolutions." Now, although the last of these resolutions is dated in 1788, this passage can bear no other meaning than that Mr. Getty is himself the author of the memoranda which he so wishes to record as his own evidence; and, I therefore cannot help reminding him, that since the publication of Dr. Reeves's book, his own evidence on the subject has been recorded in the proper sense of the

word; and that these resolutions have been pronounced by the verdict of a special jury in the cause of *Donegall* v. *Templemore*, (before whom Mr. Getty was himself examined as a witness in support of his favourite ford,) to have had no reference whatever to *the* ford of Belfast; which they found to have been situate *above* the Long Bridge, at the place indicated by the authorities cited in my note to the Hamilton MSS., and not *below* the old harbour or creek of Belfast, which Mr. Getty still maintains to be its true position.

In reference to the plan of Belfast in 1660, copied for the illustration of my note at p. 249, vol. 3, of this Journal, from Benn's *History of Belfast*, Mr. Getty says :—

"Much value being placed by the Editor of the Hamilton MSS. on a map said to be contained in Rapin's *History of England*, it becomes desirable to trace the history of this map;"

and after mentioning his having made search for it in different editions of Rapin, without being able to find it, he adds :—

"In 1823, Mr. Geo. Benn, in his excellent work, *Historical and Statistical Account of the Town of Belfast*, has copied the same map, as I am inclined to suppose, from *Dubourdieu*."

Even if he had done so, it appears to me that it should not have subjected him to Mr. Getty's observations; still less when Mr. Benn, at p. 73 of his work, states that the plan which he gives is to be found in Rapin's *History of England*; and, at page 74, that the plan which Mr. Getty gives is to be found in a different edition of Rapin; adding—

"This latter plan has probably been taken near the time of the Revolution, though the superficial appearance of each is nearly similar."

Any person who takes the trouble of comparing the copies of these plans at pp. 249 and 300 of the 3rd vol. of this Journal, can satisfy himself that what Mr. Getty describes as the "latest edition" of the "so-called" plan of 1660 (which is an exact copy of Benn's) corresponds exactly with his favourite plan of 1688; except that the latter having been taken at a later date—as Mr. Benn himself points out at page 74 of his work—

"There is in it another street or lane leading from North-Street, with the addition of several roads or cross-ways both within and without the Rampart;" and that "the river, also, which flows through High-Street, was furnished at this time with six bridges."

I have therefore no doubt that Mr. Benn, whose great accuracy is admitted by Mr. Getty, would not have stated that both plans were found by him in different editions of Rapin if such had not been the fact, and that it will so appear when a proper examination of the various editions of it can be made for them; but if neither plan had been copied by Rapin, that circumstance could in no respect detract from their value, as their being copied by him can add nothing to it: and indeed Mr. Getty's admission of the genuineness of the latter plan proves that of the former, with which it exactly corresponds, if it required any confirmation after having been adopted by Dubourdieu, Benn, Berwick, Reeves, and every writer on the subject preceding Mr. Getty; who does not hesitate himself (whilst blaming them for their credulity) to support his own favourite, but, in my opinion, most absurd theory, by publishing in the 3rd vol. of this Journal a map which he describes as "intended

to illustrate the ancient state of the district at the upper end of the bay," but which, he admits, is a composition of his own; and, although he believes it is perfectly correct, I have no hesitation in saying, from my examination of a vast variety of both ancient and modern maps of the district, that it has not the slightest pretension to that character; and I feel persuaded that, upon this favourite subject, Mr. Getty has actually deceived himself. His own account of the "composition" map is as follows:—"All the county Down side is an exact copy of the same portion of the Hamilton maps, showing the roads as they then appeared, and the ford over Con's Water." A facsimile (not Mr. Getty's "exact" copy), of the Hamilton Map of Ballymacarrett in 1625-6, is placed in the hands of the Editor of this Journal, upon which it will be seen, (if he should think it worth publication,) that not a single road of any description is laid down. Mr. Getty had admitted this fact at page 302 of vol. 3; but again prefaces the admission by alleging that "the Hamilton Maps exhibit what we may conclude were the roads existing at that period." At page 310 of vol. 3, however, he had made an admission which puts an end to the argument based on the non existence of any road on the Hamilton Map of Ballymacarrett :—

"There is no difference of opinion on one point—namely, that on the county Down side the ford commenced in some part of Ballymacarrett;"—

and, if so, I ask were there no roads then leading to or from it through the townland of Ballymacarrett, though not laid down on a private map of the Hamilton estate? It is certainly unfortunate that the public roads have not been laid down upon the Hamilton Map of Ballymacarrett as upon the maps of some other townlands of the estate, and even upon the adjoining one of Strandtown, and that, in consequence of this omission, they all appear as cut off when they join it; but again I ask, was it altogether fair, in an article professing to have for its object the ascertainment of "the *true* position of the ford of Belfast," for Mr. Getty, with those maps before him, to allege, that the map of Ballymacarrett exhibited the roads existing at that period, or to allege, as he does at p. 313 of the 3rd vol. of this Journal, that

"The Hamilton maps already alluded to give a *sufficient* reply to the statement, that the only road to Donaghadee prior to the formation of the 'New Road' proceeded from the Gooseberry Corner; *for no road whatever is shown there.*"

This "sufficient reply" is the only one that could be given to Mr. Berwick's statement, copied in my note; which, however, is not only true, but he might have added—that the only roads from Belfast to Donaghadee, as well as to Newtownards, Comber, and Castlereagh, proceeded from the same spot; and that these curious old paved roads (which are themselves fit subjects for an article in this Journal) are to this hour in existence, and open to the inspection of any one who will take the trouble of crossing the toll-bridge over the Lagan, opposite Belfast, to examine them; all converging to one point at the Gooseberry Corner, from which a single road proceeds in a straight line to Watson's Corner, terminating on the banks of the Lagan *directly opposite the site of the old Castle of Belfast.* Nay more,—and it is if possible a still more conclusive proof of the true po-

s'tion of the ford (although Mr. Getty seems to think it favours his theory)—that the road, or rather footpath (as he should have called it), across the strand from Holywood at low-water, and by a ford across the mouth of Con's Water, terminating (as he describes it) on the *hard ground* of the townland, but which is described on the Hamilton Map as a "Salt Marish," was actually continued on past the site, not only of Mr. Getty's ford, but of the Long Bridge itself; where (as Harris at p. 129 of his *History of the County of Down*, states) "a communication was formerly maintained over the Lagan by a ferry" to Watson's Corner, so as to enable foot-passengers who might fail in getting the ferry to cross the "ford of Belfast" there at low water. This footpath has, within the memory of persons still living (and among these I may mention Mr. Francis Ritchie) been converted into a modern high-way leading on to Lagan Village.

But to return to Mr. Getty's "composition" map.—On the Antrim side, he says "the map called the map of 1660 is used," [why? if he thought it not genuine] "as far as it goes, and the river shown in it is *assumed* to be the Blackstaff." He might just as well have assumed it to be the Thames, and that the ford marked upon it was Old London Bridge, as that it was a bridge over the Blackstaff. It would be really too absurd to enter into any argument upon the subject, as it is as plainly the river Lagan that is shown upon Benn's copy of the map of 1660, as upon the map of 1823 prepared expressly for his work, in which it is so lettered; but I am able out of Mr. Getty's own article to prove it to be so. At p. 308, of vol. 3, he says:—

"The town was evidently at first of very small extent; and no map of ancient date, that I am aware of, shows any part of it as standing beyond the Blackstaff or in Malone: indeed the buildings including, the Castle, seem to have been confined to the townland of Ballyeullcallagy, as spelled in the Chichester Patent, a name now lost so far as not to be recognised in the books of the County-Cess Collectors. Now this townland lay to the north side of the Blackstaff."

I admit the perfect accuracy of this statement, whilst I altogether dispute the conclusion which Mr. Getty draws from it. Would it not, if it were at all necessary, prove conclusively, that a plan of the town, then situate partly in Ballycullcallagy, or Ballecoolgalgie (the meaning of which Dr. O'Donovan states to be "the woody corner," between the Blackstaff and High-Street rivers) and partly in the "Cinament" to the east of the High-Street river, but no part of it in Malone, could not show the Blackstaff at all upon it; but especially as running along the entire southern boundary of Ballycoolgalgie and the Cinament to the sea, and taking the place of the Lagan, which has always been its southern boundary, as it is at the present moment.

But then Mr. Getty's favourite plan of 1688, instead of the three straight lines upon the map of 1660, indicating a ford, passage, or causeway, shows something like arches of a bridge in the same place; and, as there admittedly never was any bridge over the Lagan at that place, it *must*, therefore, in his opinion, be a bridge over the Blackstaff: and to prove the correctness of his "original" map, which he says "truly represents a bridge over the Blackstaff," he then gives the following really valuable extract from a MS. in the Carew collection at Lambeth:—

"The Castle will defend the passage over the forde *at* Belfast between the Upper and Lower Clandeboye, and *likewise* the bridge over the river Owynvarra *between* Malon and Belfast."

Could language more precise and explicit be used to negative the very statement which Mr. Getty adduces it to prove? The object of the castle was, as his own authority shows, to defend the passage over the ford *at* Belfast (which is shown upon both plans) *between* the Counties of Down and Antrim, and *likewise* the bridge over the Blackstaff, *between* Malone and Belfast, which is not shown upon either plan. And if Mr. Getty should inquire how it was possible for the same castle to defend at the same time a passage lying directly opposite it, and a bridge lying nearly at right angles to it, I must refer him to a sentence from his own argument to prove Mr. Borwick's ignorance of military engineering. At page 313, he says—

"The Tower of London most probably guarded Old London Bridge; but no one pretends to argue that we are mistaken as to its site, and that the bridge must have been at the citadel."

That the ford of Belfast not only must have been, but actually *was* at the citadel, if the extract from the Carew MS. cited by Mr. Getty did not conclusively prove it, the following extract from the Harleian MSS., cited in my note to the Hamilton MSS. at p. 248 of the 3rd vol. of this Journal, certainly does:—

The same Hughe (McNeill oge) hath two castles, one called Bealfarst, standing *upon* a *fourde* that leadeth from Arde to Clandeboye, which being well repayred, being now broken, would be a good defence betwixt the woods and Knockfergus."

A record in the Exchequer Office in Dublin, so old as the 46th of Henry III., referred to in the same note, describes it emphatically as *the* Castle of *the* Forde, and most certainly not Mr. Getty's ford, which is at least a quarter of a mile lower down the river and not commanded by the Castle at all, which never could have defended it.

Mr. Getty then proceeds to remark respecting the "so-called" plan of 1660, that the ford there shown does not correspond with any place which at any time could have embraced both banks of the Lagan. The only answer that can be given to this assertion, is, that it does so correspond most precisely and exactly; but his objection is directly applicable to the position of his own ford, which could not have crossed the Lagan at all, but an arm of the sea then upwards of a mile broad in the most direct line, and must have terminated in a salt marsh; instead of on the hard land of Ballymacarrett.

He next attacks Mr. James Kennedy, of Bangor, who published a map of Belfast in 1846, in the corner of which, Mr. Getty complains that he introduces his favourite plan of 1660, and proceeds a step beyond the other "improvers;" for he not only passes over the names of the streets, but letters the bridge, the "Ford." Now this again is begging the entire question: Mr. Kennedy lettered, on his copy of the map of 1660, the passage or crossing which every prior historian of Belfast had described as the ford; and represented no bridge upon it at all, for the best of all reasons—that there was none upon it at the time. But the favourite plan of 1688 has (and this is the proof of

its originality and genuineness) converted what was marked as a mere passage or ford across the Lagan in the map of 1660 into a bridge, where Mr. Getty admits there never was a bridge at any time; and, therefore, it could not be a bridge over the Lagan, but must be one over the Blackstaff, which never ran in the place for a bridge to cross it. Supposing, for a moment, that the Blackstaff stream could be indicated on the plan by a river of the breadth of the Lagan, and that it ran in 1688 where it never ran before or since, where is the evidence of the building of any bridge over the river Blackstaff between the years 1660 and 1699, or any map, ancient or modern, (except Mr. Getty's composition one and the Bainbrigge sketch on which it is based,) showing a bridge over the Blackstaff, or the Blackstaff itself at all, at the place shown upon it? But is there not evidence of the building of the Long Bridge during the same interval; and is it not the most probable solution of the arches of a bridge being introduced into the latter map, instead of the three straight lines, indicating a ford or passage, that the "composer" of it was informed of a bridge having been then built, and being used in place of the ford, and that he altered the old plan accordingly? This, though not quite so bad as the gross mistake pointed out by Mr. Getty as made by Dubourdieu in his modern map of 1811,—"wherein we find a bridge across the Lagan at the foot of Chichester-Street, where no bridge ever stood, though such an erection had been proposed,"—should, in my opinion, have made Mr. Getty hesitate in describing the plan of 1688 as the original and only correct map of the town and river. Not satisfied, however, with his own "composition" map, he has, in support of his theory, published a fac-simile of what he describes as "a rude sketch of a map" of Belfast in 1660, the history of which he says is "rather interesting." Here it is in his own words:—

> "When General Bainbrigge commanded this district a few years ago, he informed me that he had in his possession a map of Belfast given to him many years before, when in garrison with the regiment to which he belonged. This he promised to show me; but it afterwards appeared that he had lent it to a party who had not returned it. The General, finding I was anxious to see a map which he informed me showed the site of the Ford, very kindly gave me a rude sketch he had made from the original. This is now copied here. I did not consider myself justified in omitting the modern names added by the General in identifying the old with modern places."

Of course not, though he took Mr. Kennedy to task for doing so; simply because the modern names, so added by the General, are the only value of this rude sketch (as it clearly is) of the original map of 1660, published at page 249 of the 3d vol. of this Journal.

Mr. Getty adds that he believes the original is still in existence, and hopes it will be produced by whoever has it. So do I, if there is any such original with his favourite ford upon it; but I must, with every respect for Mr. Getty, say that he was as little warranted, in the absence of such alleged original, in publishing what he calls General Bainbrigge's rude sketch of the map of 1660 with the modern names upon it, as his own "composition" map, upon which he has not only laid down his imaginary ford, but omitted the school-house at the ford of Belfast, which is plainly marked on the Hamilton Map of Ballymacarrett;—and the allusion to the schoolmaster of which, in the will of Sir James Hamilton, was the text of my note on the subject, at page 246 of vol. 3 of this Journal.

I am unwilling to follow Mr. Getty into his lengthened statements as to the acts of the Pottinger family and of Lord Avonmore, the former owners of the Ballymaearrett estate, from which he suggests inferences respecting the site of the ford which appear to me to be the very reverse of those properly deducible from them. Nor shall I offer any comment on the anecdotes of such characters as "Mad Denny McClean," who in a drunken fit leaped into the channel and got across it in some unexplained manner by Mr. Getty's ford; or of the nameless person, who told Mr. Getty that, in 1798, being desirous of seeing Ballyhahineh fight, he crossed the river by means of this ford without being observed. I will only, in conclusion, adduce the sworn evidence given on the last trial of *Donegall* v. *Templemore*, by two living intelligent men, more competent than any others in existence to form a proper opinion on the subject, and who proved not only where *the* ford *was*, but *is* at the present moment; and whose evidence was so conclusive that no attempt whatever was made, either by producing Mr. Getty or any other witness, to rebut it, as was done on former trials.

John Frazer, C.E., who, being sworn, deposed that he recollects the old Long Bridge of Belfast, and when it was taken down; saw people there repeatedly crossing the stream between the two bridges (that is between the Long Bridge and Coates's Bridge,) but not just so high up as Watson's Corner; found an artificial work lower down than Watson's Corner, nearer the Long Bridge, and on the County Down side. He himself waded across the river opposite May's Dock, when the tide was coming in; it took him up to the thigh; and he found the ground firm in the bed of the river. That Watson's Corner is at the edge of the water at high-water mark; that several very old paved roads come down from different parts of the County Down, which he has marked on the map produced and given in evidence, and meet at a point called Gooseberry Corner; and from thence a single old paved road leads direct to Watson's Corner, and which is paved to the edge of the water, and takes a slight turn to the right down the stream, across which parties going to the Antrim side must have forded, before the Bridge was built, *and it is still fordable here.* That he was surveyor for the County Down when the new Bridge was building; and that the same was built partly under his superintendence. That he made borings in the bed of the stream for the purpose of ascertaining the best site for the new Bridge. That the borings were made from the old Long Bridge as far down as opposite High-Street. That the bed of the river sea-ward of the old Bridge was all soft sleech. That he never attempted to ford the river below the bridge, *because from the borings taken, he knew it would be impossible.* That the counties of Antrim and Down wished to have the new bridge built opposite High-Street, *if possible;* but, from the soft nature of the soil below the bridge, this plan was abandoned *as impracticable.* That above the bridge the men employed came upon a solid foundation.

Francis Ritchie, who, being sworn, deposed that he was the Contractor who built the present Queen's Bridge. It was built on the exact site of the old Long Bridge; that he also built Coates's or the Lagan Bridge; that about the year 1842 he was employed by the late Mr. Alexander Montgomery to build a quay wall a little above the Long Bridge, and opposite May's Dock. When building said wall he came upon an artificial kind of causeway, made of very large stones, and about 25 feet broad at the top; that about the same time witness was building a quay wall at May's Dock, exactly opposite the place where he found the causeway, or passage, on the Down side; and that when building said wall he discovered another causeway exactly similar to the one he found on the Down side, and also about 25 feet broad at the top; that both said constructions ran as if across the river to meet each other; that when the old Long Bridge was removed for the purpose of building the Queen's Bridge, the water above the bridge was lowered considerably, and exposed to view at low water a large mass of stones in the river, and that he took away several lighter loads of them; that previous to building the Queen's Bridge he had borings made both above and below the old Long Bridge, as far sea-ward as Ritchie's Dock. That a bed of soft sleech commenced 20 or 30 yards above the bridge, and continued down the channel all along the way he made the borings. About 20 or 30 yards above the bridge, *which is still fordable all the way*, and whilst building the new bridge, saw great numbers of persons crossing at low water to avoid the Toll Bridge which was then erected below the bridge. Recollects before the road was made from Watson's Corner to the Long Bridge, and its site being covered by the tide at low water; but does not recollect the making of any of the old paved roads leading to Watson's Corner and ending there. *They were in existence long before he was born.*

THE FORMULAS OF MARCELLUS.

M. Têchon d'Annecy, in his *Cachets Antiques des Médecins-oculistes*, or Dissertation upon the Greek inscription found upon a monument near Marseilles, IACONOC AYKION, (Paris, 1816, in 4to, p. 20,) gives several formulas or charms from Marcellus. The original work of Marcellus is entitled *De Medicamentis Empiricis, Physicis, et Rationalibus*, (Bâle, 1567, in fol.) published by Janus Cornarius; and contains a great number of recipes, not only those approved by physicians, but those recommended by the common people. It gives a just idea of the manner in which medicine was taught and practised in Gaul in the third century, when Marcellus lived—a country in which Irish (Gaelic) was still the language of the vulgar. For, as in *this* country the Irish language has survived the English invasion seven hundred years, so in Gaul it survived the Roman invasion at least three hundred. Knowing this to be the case—though too many Irishmen, I regret to say, do not know it—Dr. Jacob Grimm, the eminent German philologist, wrote a letter to the Royal Irish Academy, from Berlin, 20th June, 1855, of which the following is an extract:—

"Messieurs et honorés Confrères—Je pris, il y a quelques ans, la liberté d' attirer votre attention sur une mince découverte que je venais de faire. Il s' agissait de prouver qu' un médecin du temps de Théodose le grand, natif d'Aquitaine, avait inséré dans son ouvrage de médecine quelques formules jusqu' ici inexpliquées, ou plutôt négligées, mais conçues dans un dialecte gaulois qui parait avoir été *très voisin de l'idiome irlandais*. Ces formules constitueraient, donc, le monument le plus ancien de votre langage, et sembleraient dignes d'une étude particulière."

Commenting on this letter, the President of the Royal Irish Academy, Dr. Todd, (14th March, 1856) observed, in his opening address:—"When our illustrious associate, Dr. Grimm, recently applied to us for information on a question of great interest respecting the ancient forms—or what he conjectures to have been ancient forms—of some Celtic dialect, he found us unable to reply."—*Proceedings of the R.I.A. for the years* 1855-6, Vol. 6, Part 3.

Now this observation—let me say it with profound respect for Dr. Todd—is not very respectful to Dr. Grimm, who is perfectly capable of distinguishing between Celtic dialects,—Welsh and Irish, or Manx and Irish, &c. If the formulas were written in the dialects of the Welsh or Bretons, or anything like them, in that case Dr. Grimm would have applied to the Bretons or the Welsh. It is because he knows that the formulas of Marcellus are fundamentally Irish—(though as Marcellus lived in a *Basque* province, his Gaelic is by no means pure)—that Dr. Grimm applied to Irishmen. The prevalence of the Irish language in Gaul which Grimm indicates, may have originated in the wide-spread conquests of Hugony the Great (*Uganè mór*) on the European continent, as described in the *Annals*

of the Four Masters. And let me here observe that either Irish history is worthy of respect (in such statements as this relative to Hugony), or it is worthy of contempt and neglect on that and all other subjects. But it cannot be at once authentic and fabulous. If the President of the Royal Irish Academy choose to believe in it, he can do so—if he choose to reject it, he can do so—but he cannot do both. He cannot suppose it at the same time to be all falsehood and all truth. It must be one or other, especially in facts of so important a nature as this of the conquest of Western Europe by *Ugainé mór.* If Irish annalists have coined this narrative,—if this be a fabrication of their imagination,—they are capable of inventing anything;—they are unworthy of all belief. On the other hand, if their other statements be true—if it be true, as they say, that the Irish conquered Scotland—(and the Gaels are there to this day to prove that they did)—it is equally true, as they say, that the Irish subdued Gaul. One fact is as well authenticated as the other; and I do not see how any man can reject the latter and believe the former. The formulas of Marcellus are as much Irish as the name of the river Garonne. (*Garbh-abhainn*). The people with whom the word Garonne originated were undoubtedly Gaelic; the people with whom the formulas of Marcellus originated were also Gaelic; that is, they were the same people. If they spoke Gaelic when naming their rivers, they spoke Irish when inventing their spells; therefore the formulas of Marcellus are not, as Dr. Todd supposes, "ancient forms of some Celtic dialect;" they are as completely Irish Gaelic as the words Garonne or Dublin, Shannon or Rhodanus, can be proved to be.

On this point there are two statements before the public—that of Irish history and that of English theory. Irish history and English theory bring the early inhabitants of this island equally from Asia. But the difference consists in this, that while the *Four Masters* bring the Gaels through the Mediterranean by a coasting voyage to Ireland, English theory brings them across the forests of Central Europe. Now these two statements are irreconcileable. At one time, indeed, the English theory was very plausible; but at that time geology had thrown no light on the terrible condition of the primæval forests of Europe. It had not investigated, ascertained, and described the prodigious *herbivora*, and still more monstrous *carnivora*, that roamed through those dismal shades. Those gigantic oxen and prodigious hyænas (such as Wilson describes in his *Pre-historic Annals of Scotland*) must have been of such a nature that every man would require to be a Guy, Earl of Warwick, in order to make his way through the woods. Even in our own day we see how slowly the well-armed Yankees cut their way through their own back-woods—a tedious process which has been described by De Tocqueville. We see, on the contrary, how easily islands are taken possession of even by naked Australasians. Tacitus assures us that all early migrations were maritime; and if Central Europe, in primitive times, was as impenetrable as Central Africa or Central America, in modern times, such must have been the case. In short, the Irish annalists make their ancestors do what was possible;—English theory makes them do what was impossible. The progress of the Gael by sea has always been westward; by land, always eastward. Thus Keating describes the Fir-bolgs (Belgæ) as being swept out of this country by the sword

of the Milesians, and swarming over England or Albion, settling in it universally. It is one of the curiosities of Irish history that we always find these two races, the Gael and the Belgæ, side by side. At this moment, in the Highlands of Scotland, we find the Campbells, who are Fir-bolgs, beside the Mac Donalds, who are Gaels. Cæsar finds the same thing in Gaul, and Keating describes the same thing in Ireland. The two races are always in proximity, but very seldom friends. The Belgæ or Fir-bolgs were repeatedly expelled from Ireland, and poured into Britain, as we find in Keating. But this was not all: the Milesians went after them and mastered them, as we find in the *Annals of the Four Masters*. The Milesian conquest of Ireland produced two consequences: 1st, a compulsory outpouring of the Fir-bolgs into England; 2nd, voluntary military expeditions of the Gaels, who followed and subjugated those fugitives, as we find in Cormac's *Glossary*. We find this conquering race (not their slaves the Fir-bolgs) going sword in hand into the heart of Europe under Hugony the Great, and imposing, not Belgic or Welsh, but Irish names upon the geographical phenomena of Central Europe. The very name of Europe indicates this fact, coming, as it does, from the Gaelic *oir*, the east, and *ib*, a country.

And here let us observe that wherever the Gaels obtained an ascendancy, as, for instance, in Ireland, "they imposed new names of their own, as they were enabled from time to time (in Ireland) to expel the old Belgic inhabitants."—[Vide Preface to *Ogygia vindicated* by Charles O'Connor, of Belanagare.] What they did in Ireland they likewise did in Albion or England, and in Gaul or France; i.e. they imposed such names as London (*long*, a ship, *dun*, a fortress) in the one country, and Garonne in the other.

Now if all this be true, it is very possible for an Irishman to translate the formulas of Marcellus, because they must be Gaelic. On the other hand, if all this be false, it will be impossible for him to translate those formulas, because they will be something else. Let us try.

One of the formulas of Marcellus is as follows:—*Tetune resonco bregan gresso:* these words were repeated three times in order to remove a mote or other foreign substance from the eye; the charmer who uttered the formula touching at the same time the eye of the patient. The following words were also used for the same purpose:—*In monderco marcos axatison.*

The first of these formulas may without difficulty be resolved into Irish words having an appropriate meaning. *Teith tuai nidh rosgach bregan gresach*—(literally) "fly thou evil thing of the eye mote common." The second may be resolved in like manner:—*In mo dhearc mairceas fag a (n) te sin*—(literally) "in my eye you have done injury, quit the member that." The first formula was uttered by the charmer, while touching the eye; the second by the patient while the eye was being touched. As might be expected, the language of all charms is obscure and mystical; but I offer the foregoing as an attempt, perhaps not altogether unsuccessful, to point out a method of disclosing their meaning. The words seem to be decidedly Gaelic in their origin, but to be disguised, as might be anticipated, by Latin terminations.

The preceding versions of Marcellus derive some confirmation from the following account of a charm formerly, and perhaps still, in actual use in Ireland, for which I am indebted to Nicholas O'Kearney, Esq.:—"The charm to remove a mote from the eye was thus performed. The charmer was furnished with a mug or noggin of clean spring water, and a clean bason or bowl. The operation commenced with prayer, as is usual in commencing all charms—a custom evidently introduced since the nation adopted the Christian faith, with the view, no doubt, of stamping on those superstitious remnants of pagan rites the seal of piety, and thereby making them acceptable to the people. Prayer ended, the operator took a sup of water, and muttered the following charm:—*Imthigh a dhorchagain, a dhorchagain thoirmeasgaich, o rosg* (naming the person for whom the charm was intended); *imthigh de shei leog agus tig inn mo bheal-sa.* The charmer thereupon spat the water into the empty vessel; and, after repeating the operation three times, carefully examined the water to find the mote. If the mote happened to be found, the sufferer was instantly relieved; but it sometimes happened that the charm had to be repeated before the mote could be removed. This sipping of water forcibly calls to mind the similarity of the mote charm with the Brahmin rites of the East, during very many of which water is sipped. There can be but little doubt that the charm given by Marcellus was used in the pagan ages, since it bears so close a resemblance to that just described, which I have myself seen performed hundreds of times."

In this modern charm of the Irish Gael, as in the ancient one of the continental Gael, the mote is apostrophised by the speaker and ordered to begone: *Imthigh*, go thou, *a dhorchagain*, oh! darkener, *a dhorchagain*, oh! darkener, *thoirmeasgaich*, molesting, *o rosg*, from the eye of [such a one,] *Imthigh*, go, *de sheideog*, as a blast of wind, *agus*, and, *tig*, come, *inn mo bheal-sa*, into my mouth here.

To conclude. The passage of the Gaels and Fir-bolgs through central Europe in primæval times was impossible, and therefore the Gaels and Fir-bolgs did not make it. The passage of the Gaels by the Mediterranean and the ocean was (if Tacitus may be credited) perfectly possible, and therefore the Gaels—if they were originally Asiatics—certainly made it. Sooner or later our antiquaries will be forced to admit that Lhuyd was right when he stated that Celt was a mispronunciation of Gael, and that wherever Celt is mentioned Gael is meant. The Gaels are sometimes called Cymri; the Cymri are never called Gaels; that is, they are never called Celts by the ancient Greeks and Romans, but Belgæ in one instance and Attacots in another. C. M. O'Keeffe.

[The curious subject, now opened by the writer of the foregoing paper, has been attracting notice of late among philologists in Germany and elsewhere. Dr. Joseph Grimm, in 1847, was the first to direct attention to the work of the old medical author, Marcellus; and, from an examination of its hitherto unintelligible formulas, to announce his conviction that the position of the old Gaulish language with regard to the two great branches of the Celtic (represented by the Irish and the Welsh)

was different from what was generally supposed. Zeuss, another German writer, some time after produced his remarkable work, the *Grammatica Celtica*, in which he brought together an extraordinary mass of information respecting the early forms of these two languages, deduced from a minute examination of some of the oldest MSS. known to exist in them. This work is not altogether free from errors; but, as a whole, it is the most important one ever produced on the Celtic languages, and exhibits an amount of patient industry which perhaps no one but a German philologist could apply to such a subject. Our Irish archæologists and linguists must be up and doing, unless they are content that foreigners should carry off all their laurels. We have ample materials within our reach, existing in our old vellum MSS., to set at rest many important questions respecting the ancient Celtic language, which are still undetermined: and we have the advantage of living in a country where several dialects of it are still spoken. But, with the exception of O'Donovan's excellent Irish Grammar (which is constantly quoted by continental philologists), nothing whatever has been produced in Ireland to compare with the works published in Germany on almost every branch of philology. We have reason to believe that we have amongst us men capable of emulating the labours of our German brethren. In the meantime, however, the work of Zeuss must continue to be the great authority on the old Celtic tongue.

Assisted by this guide, and applying the resources of his own acute mind, Grimm pursued still further his researches into the obscure language of Marcellus; and, during the last year, published a second treatise, in which he confirms his former statements. As the subject is almost unknown in this country, it may be interesting to our readers to give some account of the progress of the inquiry. The following are Grimm's words:—

"It is now eight years since I directed the attention of the Academy of Berlin to a work of a neglected philologist and antiquary, Marcellus, the private physician of Theodosius the Great,—entitled *De Medicamentis Empiricis* [On Quack Medicines]: and this with a double purpose in view. I wished to bring together the numerous traditionary and superstitious cure-formulas or charms contained in this book, and which we find at an early period extending, with a wonderful coincidence, over all Europe. And secondly, I endeavoured to establish the discovery that these passages in the work of Marcellus,—a Gaul born in Aquitaine,—were composed in a Celtic language. What were previously considered as unmeaning gossiping sayings, now proved to be the earliest monuments of the Gaulish tongue; preceding, by about three centuries, the oldest Irish MSS., and reaching back almost to the time of the remains of Ulphilas."—"If we consider that, when the discovery of writing was once made, it would not readily be abandoned, and that in the ancient world the art was farther advanced than is generally supposed, we must regret that the more cultivated races, especially the Celtic and Teutonic, neglected to inscribe durable memorials on stone and metal, and thereby transmit to posterity more certain information regarding themselves and their languages. It is true that such monuments are more appropriate to Greek and Italian climates, where inscriptions hardly

become obliterated: still the Gauls, long before the commencement of our era, had possession of a large part of Upper Italy; and their neighbours the Etruscans, the Umbrians, and the Romans, were well acquainted with the use of writing. But there is not a trace extant of a Gaulish inscription of so early a period, to give us insight into the condition of the Gaulish language at that time. We are at present able to understand the Oscan inscriptions almost completely; and the Umbrian, about one-half or two thirds:—even the riddle of the mysterious Etruscan will probably one day be resolved. Now, by means of the modern Celtic languages we should be able to explain the Gaulish as easily, or more easily, than we have been able to explore the Oscan and Umbrian with the help of Latin and Sanscrit."—"Matters being in this position, it appears to be an acquisition of no small importance to obtain a specimen of the Celtic language as old at least as the fourth century after Christ, whose fixed phraseology points back to a still remoter time; and to find it all but proved that the dialect of Aquitaine (the Gaulish language) must, on the whole, have approached nearer to the Irish than to the Welsh."

Grimm's announcement of this discovery at first met with little approbation. It was ridiculed in several publications; and the opinion so strongly given by Zeuss, in his *Grammatica Celtica*, was quoted as decisive against him. The philologist Pott, writing on the subject, expresses himself thus:—"Zeuss, at the end of his preface, says, 'Some people find pretended Celtic words in Marcellus, &c. I can find none.'—Such a sentence, coming from such a judge, is as good as annihilating, and in its regardless brevity is something terrible."

Nothing daunted, however, Grimm pursued his investigations, and being joined in the inquiry by another eminent philologist, Pictet, of Geneva, (author of a well-known treatise on the affinity of the Celtic languages with the Sanscrit,) succeeded in explaining a considerable number of these formulas or charms "in a manner," as Grimm remarks, "which leaves hardly any doubt of the correctness of the process." The method adopted is the application of the Irish language, both ancient and modern, but especially the former, as the key to their meaning. Both Grimm and Pictet exhibit a great deal of ingenuity and considerable acquaintance with the forms (particularly the obsolete forms) of Irish words, and have succeeded in obtaining translations in every case, and these appropriate to the respective subjects, and, at the least, far from improbable. As a specimen of the method by which this result is attained, we give the following discussion of a formula from Marcellus, by Pictet.

Formula 12.—"He who shall labour often under the disease of watery (or blood-shot) eyes, let him pluck the herb Millefolium up by the roots, and of it make a hoop, and look through it, saying three times—*excicumacriosos;* and let him as often move the hoop to his mouth, and spit through the middle of it; and then plant the herb again."

"I divide the formula thus: *exci cuma criosos;* and I translate it 'see the form of the girdle.'

"*Exci* may be explained in two ways without altering the meaning, *see!* *Ex* may be the prefix or the preposition, which in ancient Irish had become *ess* or *es*, (now *eas*.) In *ess* the doubling of the

letter seems to arise from the assimilation of the guttural. The Gaulish form was certainly *ex*, identical with the Latin *ex*. [See Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, pp. 57, 117, 865.] This is proved (amongst other examples) by *exacon* the name of the Centaury; being so called by the Gauls, according to Pliny, because 'omnia mala medicamenta potum e corpore *exigat* per alvum.' I compare *acon* with the Irish *aice*, *aiccachd*, the action of leading: *exacon* is the remedy that *leads out* from the body,—the purgative; an explanation which is simpler and more precise than the one proposed by Zeuss [p. 761.] We shall again meet with the preposition *ex* repeated several times in another of the formulas, No. 41. It is worthy of remark that the letter *x*, which is completely wanting in the modern Irish, is sometimes met with in the ancient Glosses of the MSS. of St. Gall and Wurtzburg, where it takes the place of the combination *cs*: thus we have *foxlid*, ablativus, *forroxal* tulit, *disnigur*, apparco, &c. [Zeuss, p. 80.] If, then, *ex* is truly the prefix, the second element *ei* (in *exei*) can only be the imperative of the Irish verb *cim* or *cighim*, I see.

"Besides this interpretation, which leaves the form *exei* intact, another offers itself in the Irish root *ec*, to see, of the words *ecat*, they saw, *ece*, *ecna*, *eciside*, manifest, clear, which is given by O'Reilly. As this root *ec* is evidently connected with the Sanscrit *ikṣh*, with the loss of the *s*, [compare *aksha* and *oc-ulus*,] we may even suspect that the *s* is still found in *exei*, where the *e* would then be redundant. *Exi* would thus correspond to the Sanscrit imperative. The formulas Nos. 18, 24, and 27, will afford us other examples of the imperative in *i*.

"*Cuma* is identically the Irish *cuma*, *cum*, form, model.

"*Criosos* can be nothing but a genitive of *crios*, *cris*, a girdle: and this form is very remarkable, because it offers a remnant of the Sanscrit genitive masculine in *sya*, which has disappeared completely from the Celtic languages. Even in the 7th and 8th centuries, in Irish, nouns ending in consonants already take merely the vowel *a* or *o* in the genitive singular. [Zeuss, p. 254.] The Irish *oris*, *crios* answers to the Sanscrit root *glish* (originally *krsh*) to embrace, to bind, whence *glisha*, ligature, embrace. The complete theme of *crios*, then, would be *crioso*; and the genitive, *criosos*, the Sanscrit *glèshasya*.

"The process of cure recommended in the formula is of a character altogether symbolical. Girdles, (*cris*,) which we shall meet with again in formula No. 27, seem to have performed an important part in Celtic medicine. [See the curious formula entitled *mochris*, from the MS. of Klosterneuburg, of the 11th or 12th century, which Zeuss has published and translated in his *Grammatica Celtica*, p. 933, and which is certainly older than the MS.] By making the eye look through the circle formed by the plant, a girdle, as it were, was put round it; and it is for this reason that the formula says 'see the form (or model) of the girdle.' The action of spitting afterwards through the little ring expressed symbolically the expulsion of the pain."——

The formula here discussed is comparatively simple; but others of a still more "barbaric" appearance have been attacked and resolved by these philologists with more or less success. As specimens

of the difficulties encountered, we may specify two of these, on which, to use Grimm's expression, "other inquirers may try their teeth."

Heilen prossaggeri uome sipolla na builet onodieni iden eliton ;

and *Xi exu cricone xu crigrionaisus scrisumiouelor exugri conexu grilun.*

Both of these are charms for anything sticking in the throat.

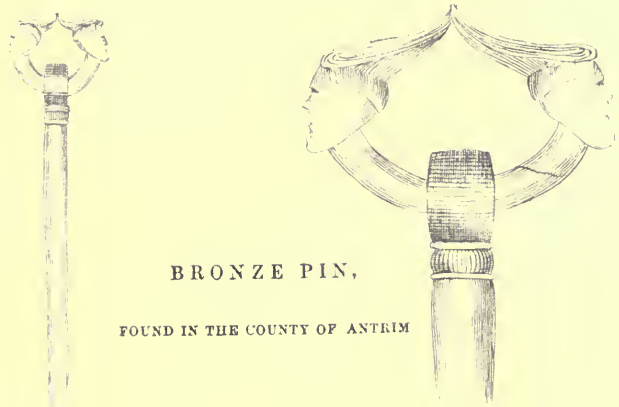
Pictet, in concluding his essay on the subject, makes the following observations :—"I may be in error, but itseems to me that these interpretations, so precise, so rational, obtained, like those of Grimm, without almost any alterations in the texts given by Marcellus, confirm in a remarkable manner the result announced by that learned man ; namely, the existence of a dialect of the Gaelic branch in Aquitaine in the 4th century : a result which is of the highest importance in the history of the Celtic languages. The analysis of these Gaelic texts, the oldest which we possess, exhibits the language still retaining some grammatical forms since lost, and which bring it closer to the primitive type, best preserved in the Sanscrit. It is highly probable that, if we had Celtic texts of the time of Cæsar, we should find still remaining in them the whole system of inflexions with their characteristic features."—

Whether the explanations of these formulas arrived at by Grimm and Pictet be correct or not, they certainly display a great amount of ingenuity ; and, coming from two individuals so highly distinguished as philologists, must be received with attention and respect by Irish scholars. We have no doubt, however, that much additional light might be thrown on the whole subject of "Charms and Spells," by collecting those still current in Ireland, both in Irish and English, but especially in the former language. We have had a number of them sent to us, and would recommend our correspondents in country districts to seek for and note down others, which they will find more or less abundant everywhere. The example now brought forward by Mr. O'Keeffe, in the preceding paper, is a good illustration of what may be done, and corroborates Grimm's remark respecting the wonderful coincidence in the traditionary formulas for curing diseases observable all over Europe.

If the unintelligible gibberish, which so often accompanies quack methods of cure, can be shown to be a corrupted remnant of a very ancient language, and that one our own Irish language in its early form, it will be an extremely curious and interesting result. The subject, as we may see from the remarks of Pictet, is by no means trifling or unimportant ; and, when properly viewed, it gives room for the exercise of much talent, and the application of much and varied learning. The specimen of a translation which we have given, shows what minute care is considered necessary by a modern philologist, in discussing an obscure question of the kind ; and which is very different from the style of treatment adopted by the old Vallancey school of writers in this country, whose hasty conclusions threw discredit on the study of Irish antiquities. A philologist now considers it necessary to give a reason for each step of his process, and is not ashamed to express doubts of his own correctness when he feels them.

We shall return to this curious subject hereafter. [Edit.]

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.



BRONZE PIN,

FOUND IN THE COUNTY OF ANTRIM

We give here accurate drawings of a bronze pin of very unusual form. Indeed we are not aware that any instance has before occurred of the human head being introduced as an ornament on fibulæ found in Ireland. This specimen was dug up in Derryullagh bog, near Randalstown, county of Antrim, in that border clan-country, which has already afforded so many antiquities. The material is the usual dark-coloured bronze. It has been cast in the required form, but afterwards finished by a chasing-tool. The one figure represents the pin of the actual size: the other is a magnified drawing of the upper portion.—[Edit.]

Old Corporate Records of Belfast.—I quite concur with H. P. [vol. 4, p. 100,] in his estimate of the value of the Records of the old Corporation of Belfast. They must contain much matter of the highest local interest, and possibly some things not unworthy of notice as contributions to the general history of the country. The writer of this had once access to the Records, but from circumstances connected with the mode in which the examination of them had to be conducted, from inexperience, and a want of aptitude at the time in reading with facility the old cramp writing, he was not able to appreciate them, or make due use of his opportunity. When under his examination, which was a great many years ago, they were understood to be the property of the Donegall family; and it is probable that judicious inquiry somewhere in the same direction might lead to a knowledge of their present ownership. Their place of deposit must be known; no one, surely, could take an interest in withholding such documents, or such parts of them as are interesting, from the public of Belfast; and it is hoped this notice, as well as the queries of others already published, will have the effect of withdrawing them from concealment. The writer of this has elsewhere published many extracts made by him from the old Corporation Records: he finds among some loose papers a few notices of a similar character; but, from some casualty, he has omitted to remark at the end of them that they have been copied from the Records, and has now no recollection whether they were so or not. He has little doubt, however, that they were derived from that source, either directly or indirectly, and that they are in the main authentic. They are not of much importance, but may serve, as far as they go, as farther samples of the unpublished matter which the old Records contain.

A.D. 1616.—"The people of Belfast, becoming

drunken and riotous, a bye-law was made to prevent improper persons from selling liquor; and the sale of ale and spirits on Sundays was prohibited, under a fine of 6s. 8d."

1616.—"The Sovereign, Burgesses, and Freemen, made their first public procession this year to Church." [The writer once heard a very old inhabitant saying that in her youth she had seen the members of the Corporation proceeding in state, in the manner here described, to the Church in High-street, on some important public occasion.]

"The Burgesses and Freemen were obliged to apprehend all felons, either on horseback or foot, at the command of the Sovereign, under a penalty of 20s. for absence."

1639.—"The Corporation fitted up a Court-house, with bench and bar and town prison; and for this purpose an applotment was made on the inhabitants; but only forty-six were found able to pay it."

1640.—"Assizes were held in the Court-house this year."

1641.—"The Sovereign ordered that attorneys pleading in his Court must be paid 12d. fee at first, and 12d. every Court after, as long as the action pended."

1642.—"Col. Chichester's regiment worked at the ramparts sixty days, for 3d. per day."

1642.—"Sluice Bridge built."

1644.—"Col. Mair's and Col. Hume's regiment were quartered here, besides many other troops. From the destruction which the civil wars had made on the ramparts and gates of the town, the Corporation was under the necessity of making a weighty assessment on the inhabitants for the repairs of the same; which was accordingly done, and the town again sufficiently strengthened."

1697.—"A great storm blew down part of the battlement of Mill Gate and the vane of the Church."

1699.—"The names of the principal inhabitants at this time were Leathem, Squire, Hamilton, Byrtt, Macartney, Crawford, Maxwell, Rainey, Duff, Gilbert, Taverner."

As before observed, these extracts do not tell very much; but still, from among the mass of unimportant details, really desirable information might be gathered. The editor of the diary kept by an eye-witness of the wars of the Revolution, and published in a late number of this Journal, inquires where the great hospital of Belfast which received the invalids of King William's army, and alluded to therein, was situated. The Records might supply this information, and many other things of greater import worth being known to all who take an interest in the early history of this town and province. G. B.

Urn-Burial.—In all ancient nations, dead bodies have been burned and the ashes preserved: of this we have satisfactory evidence from history. But we have also evidence of a still more interesting kind, the ashes themselves—the very repositories themselves—the discovery of which in Ireland is now of common occurrence. This very circumstance, however, must make them so much the rarer in the coming age; and indeed their entire disappearance may be anticipated at no very remote period. As notes are seldom preserved of the situations in which they are found, I would beg permission to record, in the pages of your Journal, what I recollect of the discovery of an urn beside Doagh, in the County of Antrim.

About the year 1825, John Minfoad, of Ballyhammage townland, a respectable farmer, found an earthen urn. Having heard of the circumstance shortly after, I went to see it, and from himself received the following details. The urn was of a dark-red coarse clay, rudely ornamented, and crumbling into fragments. It was full of cinders, which I saw, and portions of which, as well as of the urn, I preserved for years. The peculiarity, however, which impressed me most strongly, and which, indeed, is the cause of my drawing particular attention to the case, is, that the urn, when found, was covered by a solid stone arch. The stones employed in constructing this arch or dome were about five or six inches in width. With these an arch, about four or five feet in diameter, was formed so firmly, and each stone wedged in so skilfully among the others, that Mr. Minfoad was unable, with a spade, to disturb the arch, or raise a single stone. He had

to bring a crow-bar for the purpose, which effected the destruction not only of the arch, but unfortunately also of the urn, which had remained for so many ages safely preserved. The only articles found under the dome, besides the urn, were a stone celt and a flint arrow head. I received both of these, and have them still in my possession.

This was not the only urn found in that neighbourhood. A short time previously, the "Antiquarian" of Doagh, John Alexander, discovered one containing cinders of bones. The quantity, in this case, had been insufficient to fill the urn, and the remaining part was stuffed with a fibrous material, the nature of which was unknown, but resembling the fibrous rootlets of plants, and so firmly crammed as to require considerable force to remove it. Mr. John Rowan, of Belfast, saw the urn as originally found, before the fibrous matter was removed.

The same "Antiquarian," among other curious objects in his collection, had a dozen of stone buttons, found on Ballyboley mountain, and which I saw. These buttons were largely convex on the under side; so much so as to allow of a hole being drilled through, large enough to admit a cord or thong by which they could be fastened. As Ballyboley and the surrounding districts afford so many traces of human occupation at very early as well as later periods, I fear it will be impossible to assign a date to the use of these articles.—The same person had also a stone and muller, found in Cogry moss. The stone was nearly two feet long, ten or eleven inches broad, and six or seven inches thick. The muller was a roundish stone, eight or nine inches in diameter. One side of it fitted nicely into a groove, sunk with considerable skill in the face of the stone previously described. This groove was about eighteen inches long, nearly two inches deep in the centre, and becoming less and less deep towards its extremities. The use of this implement was possibly to prepare meal, and to shell nuts. It would seem to have been one of the earliest and rudest forms of the quern and mill-stone.

Belfast. WILLIAM MILLEN.

LIME FLOORS OF ROUND TOWERS.—In the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society* is a poem on the death of Brian O'Neill, from which it appears that his head was cut off and sent to London. In this poem is the following reference to the graves of Irish chiefs:—

"In Ard Macha are the interments
Of the Ulaidh with their lime-stone graves.
* * * *
There is in London under a white flag-stone
A head which the Gaeidhil would ransom."

H. P.

LIME FROM SHELLS.—In vol. 1, p. 30, of this Journal, the fact of lime from limpet shells being used in the buildings of Torry Island is mentioned. In Docwra's narration he mentions amongst other matters connected with his establishment at Derry:—"Cockle-shells to make a lyme, wee discovered infinite plentie of, in a little island in the mouth of the harbour, as wee came in." "Infinite plentie" it may well be called, for to this day shells for manure are taken from the same place. H. P.

EARTHEN MOUNDS.—A proof that these were sites of houses is found in the poem of Fearghal Og Mac an Bhaird, on the battle of Down. In the last verse but one the following occurs:—

"His fortress was enfeebled by his death,
It is bent to the earth from his fall!
O thou fair hill, whom hospitably adorned,
O hill [*tulach*] at which strangers alighted."

E. G.

BIRD-SKIN CLOAKS.—Amongst the numerous donations of Mr. Gordon A. Thomson, to the Belfast Museum, not the least remarkable is a splendid cloak, from one of the islands of the south seas, entirely formed from the skins of one small species of bird. Tacidhean or Tuighean, was the name, amongst the ancient Irish, of an ornamented mantle worn by the chief poet or laureate of all Ireland, and described in *Cormac's Glossary*, as "made of the skins and feathers of various coloured birds." E. G.

ROUND TOWERS.—Allow me to direct the attention of E. G. to Barrow's *Travels in Ireland*: they contain a beautiful engraving of an Irish head, worthy of Persepolis, which Barrow copied, as he tells us, from a frieze or plinth in the interior summit of the Round Tower of Devenish. A faithful full-sized drawing of this head would

make a beautiful embellishment for the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*. It would not only do this, but it would afford material for a dissertation on the vulgar Ethnological description of the Celtic head, which is utterly false, and would establish the truth of an observation of Giraldus Cambrensis:—"In Ireland man appears in all his majesty." It gives historians an idea of the personal appearance of the builders of our Round Towers, and realises the descriptions given to us by Livy, Plutarch, and Strabo, of the gigantic Celts (or Gaels), of whom Ammianus Marcellinus says:—"In the cast of their features there was something terrible." C. M. O'KEEFFE.

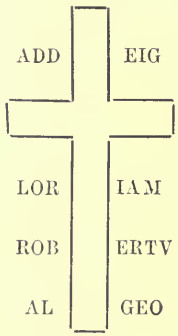
LURGAN IN THE LAST CENTURY.—"From thence we visited Lurgan, in the county of Armagh. Its situation is extremely pleasant, in a fine fertile and populous country, and in the midst of the linen manufacture. The inhabitants are genteel, sensible, and friendly; and though the town is not very considerable, yet from a general concurrence in the same agreeable disposition, they have established a very sociable and entertaining assembly, to which, throwing aside all the ridiculous distinctions and exclusions on the circumstances of birth and fortune, the offspring of pride upon vanity and ignorance, every person is welcome who is qualified to appear with decency, and to behave with good manners. They seem, indeed, to exert themselves to support the reputation of their town, which from the similarity of its general figure, and of the language, manners, and disposition of the inhabitants to those of the English, had for many years acquired the name of Little England, and an Englishman at Lurgan will think himself in his own country."—*Tour in Ireland in* 1779.

In the Ghost-story given in vol. 3, p. 327, the name "Taverner" is mentioned, with the *alias* "Tavney." This latter is not merely an abbreviation, but is the French pronunciation of a French name—"Tavernier"—which occurs in the list of the Huguenot family-names remaining at Lisburn, included in the list given by Dr. C. Purdon, [Journal, vol. 2, p. 178.] I believe the name Tavney is still met with in the neighbourhood, but its real origin is already forgotten LOUIS.

Some years ago, whilst travelling through your northern province, I was struck with the appearance of some ancient monuments. I shall give you a short notice of them, for the purpose of awakening the attention of those of your readers who reside near the locality mentioned, and of eliciting from them a more accurate and interesting account than I can give.

In the county Tyrone, about midway between historic Strabane and the small town of Donnemana, (*Dun-na-manach*, fort of friars?) is situate a small village commanding a magnificent view of the Foyc, the Donegal and Mourne mountains. It takes its name Artigarvan (*ard-'a-garbh-thonn*, height of rough breakers or waves) from a boiling torrent beside it, which is spanned by an old narrow and ivy-covered bridge, called the Malison, from a touching legend which I shall not here mention. Inserted into the south-eastern wall of this bridge, about three feet from the only arch, and four from the ground, is a large rectangular stone partially covered with ivy.

This stone is, as well as I can remember, four feet long, and two broad, with the following inscription in *raised* letters, surrounding a crucifix in *basso-relievo*, thus:—



Local traditions say it belonged to a Catholic "chapel," situate at the distance of a quarter of a mile, of which nothing remains but a grey rock in a meadow. This rock is cup-shaped on the apex, and was used as a *benitier*. (aiunt.) To bathe his hand in the water this cup-shaped concavity always contains, a young peasant may be seen, resorting sometimes, if he has received a "bruise," or if there be "warts" on his hand. A little rivulet flowing past is termed the "chapel burn." The inscribed stone was taken by a gentleman from the ruins to his house as a curiosity, but he was soon compelled by spirit visitations to transfer it to the bridge.

Near the village of Liscurry (*lios-curraich*, fort of the plain) situated near Donnemana, is a "rocking-stone," and "rath." And still nearer the town is a "giant's-grave," covered by flag-stones, lying laterally, superiorly, and a smaller one at each end. In the bottom of a hazly dell beside that, is a small square building called "a sweat-house."

Can you tell me if the name "Sigerson," which I saw there, and never elsewhere, is Danish or Celtic?

Skibbereen. ED. BUCHANAN.

GIANT'S RING.—As I quite agree with H. P. [Notes and Queries, vol. 4, p. 97] that every notice connected with this curious monument of antiquity ought to be recorded, I send one contained in a description of it by the author of *A Tour in Ireland in* 1779 (Dublin, 1780.) "Contiguous to the rath [ring] there was a small mount formerly dug through to get stones for building, in the middle of which great quantities of bones were found." This corroborates the statement given in vol. 3, p. 364, of this Journal. SENEX.

GEOGRAPHICAL CONFUSION.—The following words of Dean Butler, in his preface to *Clyn's Annals*, are worthy of a place in any Journal that proposes to discuss or illustrate ancient Irish history:—

"We know that the Northmen had a peculiar genius for high-wrought and lofty imagery, enigmatical rather than fantastical; not only were their ships "the wooden horses of the ocean," and their swords "serpents," but the very geography of their countries, either from their own taste, or from the taste of their visitors, was allusive and metaphorical. The Baltic Sound, which in the days of Tacitus, (*Germania*. 34) was called "the pillars of Hercules" was styled "the Hellespont," by Saxo-Grammaticus. And the Africa of Nennius, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, seems to have been the southern coast of the Baltic, the land of the sea-robbers, with whom, as Dubh-galls or black strangers, we are familiar in Irish history, but who startle and perplex us when we meet them under the name of Africans."

E. G.

QUERIES.

In No. 3 of "Original Documents Illustrative of Irish History," extracted from the State Paper Office (Irish) for 1604, and which will be found in vol. 2 of this Journal, p. 251, the following passage occurs:—"And that the offer made by *Dutchmen* to the late Queen, to inhabit Loghfoil, upon the border of the country of the Earl of Tyrone, upon such conditions as to your Majesty shall be thought fit, be accepted."—Can any of your readers supply any information as to these Dutchmen; whether there be extant any record of their names, or of their offer having been accepted; whether they might not have been some of the Dutch refugees who, driven by the Persecution under Philip II. of Spain, about the year 1558, from the Netherlands, were forced to seek for shelter in England, and probably endeavoured afterwards to settle themselves in Ireland? T. O.

In the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, Book 2, the following passage occurs:—"I was loitering about the town, when, coming by chance into the Forum, I saw in the midst a tall old man, standing on the top of a large block of stone. 'Any person,' exclaimed he, 'willing to undertake to guard a corpse, shall receive a good reward.' On hearing this proclamation, I addressed one of the by-standers, and asked:—'Do the dead men run away in this country?'—'Hold thy tongue,' said he, 'thou art a fool, as well as a stranger, not to know that, all over Thessaly, witches with their teeth tear off pieces from the faces of the dead to use in magic spells, &c.' Now, query, does the Irish custom, of revelling and singing beside the dead, originate in some popular superstition such as the preceding; or, was the noise and merriment designed to scare the witch from disfiguring the corpse? C. M. O'KEEFFE.

Is it known at what period *organs* were first introduced into Ireland? ECCLESIASTICUS.

CURIOUS CHURCH.—Near the village of Cloghreen, county Kerry, not far from Mucruss demesne, is a very small church called Killaghie. Mrs. Hall describes and figures it as the smallest church in Ireland. It measures inside eighteen feet five inches, by ten feet eight and a half inches. At one end is a marble altar, too large in proportion to the other parts; and a few years ago the centre of the interior was occupied by a burial-vault now broken down, said to be of one of the Hussey family. It is stone-roofed, and has a square tower at the west end. From the mound on which it stands is one of the best general views of the Lakes of Killarney. Can any correspondent favour me with information respecting the history of this curious little church? E. G.

Do any of the readers of this Journal know anything of the fate of a Manuscript quoted by MacGeoghegan, and entitled "*Discours jour par jour du voyage et exploit que firent Messieurs de Montluc et de Forquevaux au Royaume d'Hirlande par commandement du feu Roi Henri en l'année*, 1549, *selon que le dict Fourquivaux s'en peut souvenir?*" Leland alludes to this embas y at page 191, vol. 2. C. M. O'KEEFFE.

Can any of your Liverpool correspondents explain the origin of the name "St. Aidan's," given to a college at Birkenhead? St. Aidan was the name of an early Irish saint.

SENEX.

What is the origin of "Devis," the name of the highest mountain in the neighbourhood of Belfast? CURIOSUS.

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

BONNYCLABBER.—When the mail-coach plied from Belfast to Dublin (previous to any conveyance by railway) the driver pulled up in the street of a village, which gave one of the outside passengers the opportunity of inquiring the name of the place. An inhabitant, a poor old woman, surprised that any one should be so ignorant as not to know the name of her dear native town, turning her eyes askant towards the top of the coach with a rather quizzical leer, replied:—"Arrah, and are ye pretending ye don't know Balbriggan." So when an inquiry is made regarding the nature and consistence of *Bonnyclabber*, a Gael, who, from his infancy, had been occasionally fed on that beverage, might naturally suppose the inquirer to be only feigning ignorance of a kind of food with which he had had an early and intimate acquaintance. The fact is, nevertheless, that our archæologists seem at a loss to know what is meant by the terms *Bainèclabber*, and *Bainè-ramar*. I believe *bainèclabber* is stale or rancid butter-milk; whereas *bainè-ramar* is simply cream, or milk thrown up previous to its being churned. The latter word consists of *bainè*, in Irish signifying milk, and *ramar*, thick or fat. The apothecary here, to whom I applied for a settlement of this buttermilk difficulty, says:—"Bonnaclabber consists of a white thick curd, called *carau*, which has been disengaged from, and floats on, a serous or watery whey, containing lactic acid." In an anonymous book, entitled *The Irish Hudibras*, published in London in 1689, which I take to have been written by a Mons. Durfry, the word *bonnaclabber* is explained simply as "sour milk." The following lines are from that work, which was printed immediately after the coronation of William and Mary:—

> "Art thou alive? see in thy face,
> Is this thy voice I hear? the grace
> Of thy discourse, able to turn
> To *bonnaclabber* a whole churn."
> Page 116.

It is reasonable to think the ancient Irish must have understood the manner of preparing milk in a variety of forms: they lived for the greater part of the year in boolies, or mountain pastures, feeding chiefly on milk, or what were termed *white meats*. In producing curd, they used a portion of the mountain-ash, or rowan-tree, instead of *runnet:* this tree was held by

them in great esteem, and to this day the Irish house-wife is well pleased when in possession of a churn-staff of mountain-ash. So propitious is the tree regarded, that, when their friends are about to cross the Atlantic, their most fervent prayer is "that the Lord and *Rowan-tree* may be with them." It is probably to this *boolying* or pastoral era of our history, that the deposition of the butter so frequently found in our bogs is to be referred.

Dungannon. JOHN BELL.

HOLYWOOD.—[Queries, vol. 4, p. 170.]—Ware, in his *Annals, (anno*, 1256,) gives the following account of Johannes De *Sacro* Bosco (not *Sancto* Bosco); and the inscription on his tomb differs from the one given by your correspondent, "An Irishman in Paris."—"About this time—to wit, anno 1256, flourished *Johannes De Sacro Bosco.* Bayle, out of Leland, will have him to be a Yorkshire man, and terms him John Holyfaxi. Stanihurst writeth that he was born in Ireland, at *Holy-Wood*, in Fingal, some twelve miles from Dublin, and therefore called Johannes De *Sacro Bosco*, which carries great likelihood with it. His great bearing graced him unto posterity. In his springing years he suckt the sweet milk of good learning in the famous University of Oxford; afterwards he went to Paris, where he professed the learned sciences with singular commendations; and there slumbereth in the dust of the earth, whose exequies and funerals were there with great lamentations solemnised. First he followed Aristotle, afterwards gave himself to the Mathematicks, and addicted himself so much thereto that few since could follow him. Upon his tomb, together with the Mathematical Astrolabe, was insculped as followeth:—

> M. Christi bis. C. quarto deno quater anno,
> De Sacro Bosco discrevit tempora ramus,
> Gratia cui nomen dederat divina Johannes."

SENEX.

OLD ABBEYS NEAR BELFAST.—A correspondent, Alpha [vol. 3, p. 84] asks for an enumeration of the old abbeys, &c., in the district surrounding Belfast. I am able to give the following list, extracted from Dr. Hanmer's MS. Collections, in the State Paper Office, London:—

"The Abbays of Clanyboy.
The Gray Abbay, a house of monckes.
Moyrylly, a house of chanons.
The Abbaye of the New-town, a house of Sainct Domynycke's ordre.
The Abbaye of Bangor, a house of chanons.
The Comber, a house of monckes.
Ardneknysse, a house of the order of Saint Francis.
All the fore-named within the Ardes.
The Abbays below Balfershede as followeth:—
The Abbay of Goodborne, beside Cragfergous, a house of chanons.
The Freery, within Cragfergous.
The Abbay of Mockomyre, in Moylynye, a house of chanons.
The house of Mesreeny, Easte of Logh-neagh, of the order of St. Francis.
The house of Lynnbegg, of the——order
do. Inverlarne, do.
The Abbey of Glenarm, do.
The house of Bonmargie, do.
The Abbay of Kealbegg, a house of chanons.
The Freery of Cowbrayne."

Some of your readers versed in ecclesiastical antiquities, will be good enough to identify these places with modern localities. H. F. H.

HORSES PLOUGHING BY THE TAIL.—[Queries, vol. 3, p. 254.]—There is no doubt that this was at one time actually a common practice in Ireland; but ploughing, in those days, was a very different thing from what it is now. The old plough was a slightly made wooden implement, with a stone plough-share, and only calculated to scratch the surface of the ground, which most probably had been previously broken up with spades. I rather think that the practice, if not nearly confined to Ulster, was more common there than in the other provinces.

OLLAMH FODHLA.

ANCIENT WATER-MILLS.—[Queries, vol. 3, p. 83.]—The earliest notice of a water-mill in Ulster, that I have met with, is in the *post-mortem* Inquisition on the death of William de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, A.D. 1333:—"Item fuit ibidem quoddam molendinum aquaticum, cujus proficium tolneti valuit per annum 6s. 8d." SENEX.

STANAGOMAR [Queries, vol. 3, p. 254.]—This ought, in my opinion, to be *Stanagowar*. The latter part of the word is probably *gobhar*, the Irish name of the shad-fish; and we know that *sta* is often a provincial form of *teach*, a house, (as in Staekallen, in the county Meath, for Teach-Callan the house of Callan. *O'Donovan.*) *Stana-gowar*, might therefore be "house of the shad-fish," a poetical or figurative name given by fishermen to this spot in the sea at the mouth of Belfast Lough. A. A.

The unanswered query in vol. 2, p. 71, respecting a coin found near Donaghadee with the name of that town upon it, is most probably of very easy solution. It would appear to have been a tradesman's token of Donaghadee: and as I believe none are known of that place, should the finder still have it in his possession, it is deserving of preservation. By submitting it to any person in the slightest degree acquainted with coins, the correctness or otherwise of my conjecture will be at once ascertained. G. B.

END OF VOL. IV.

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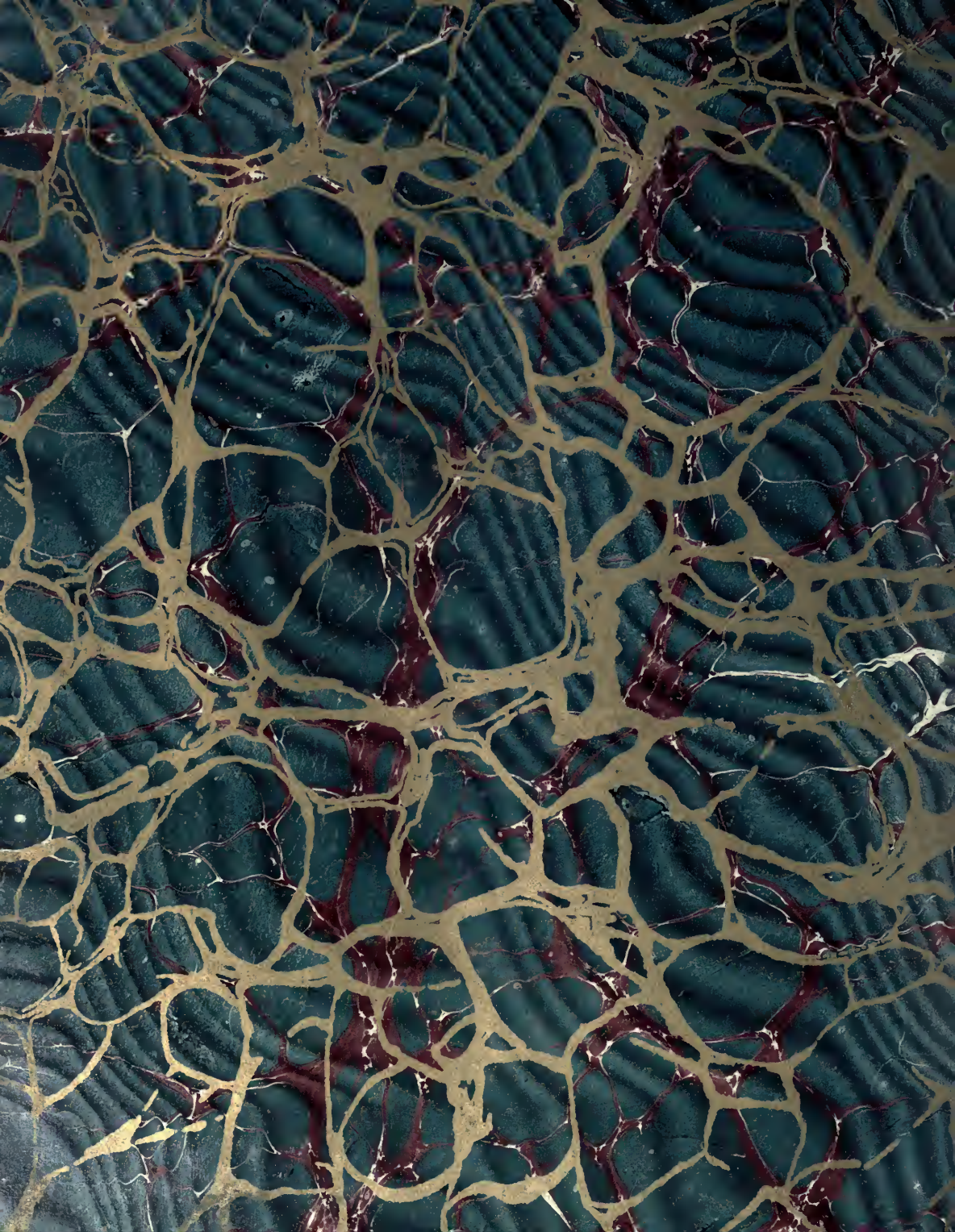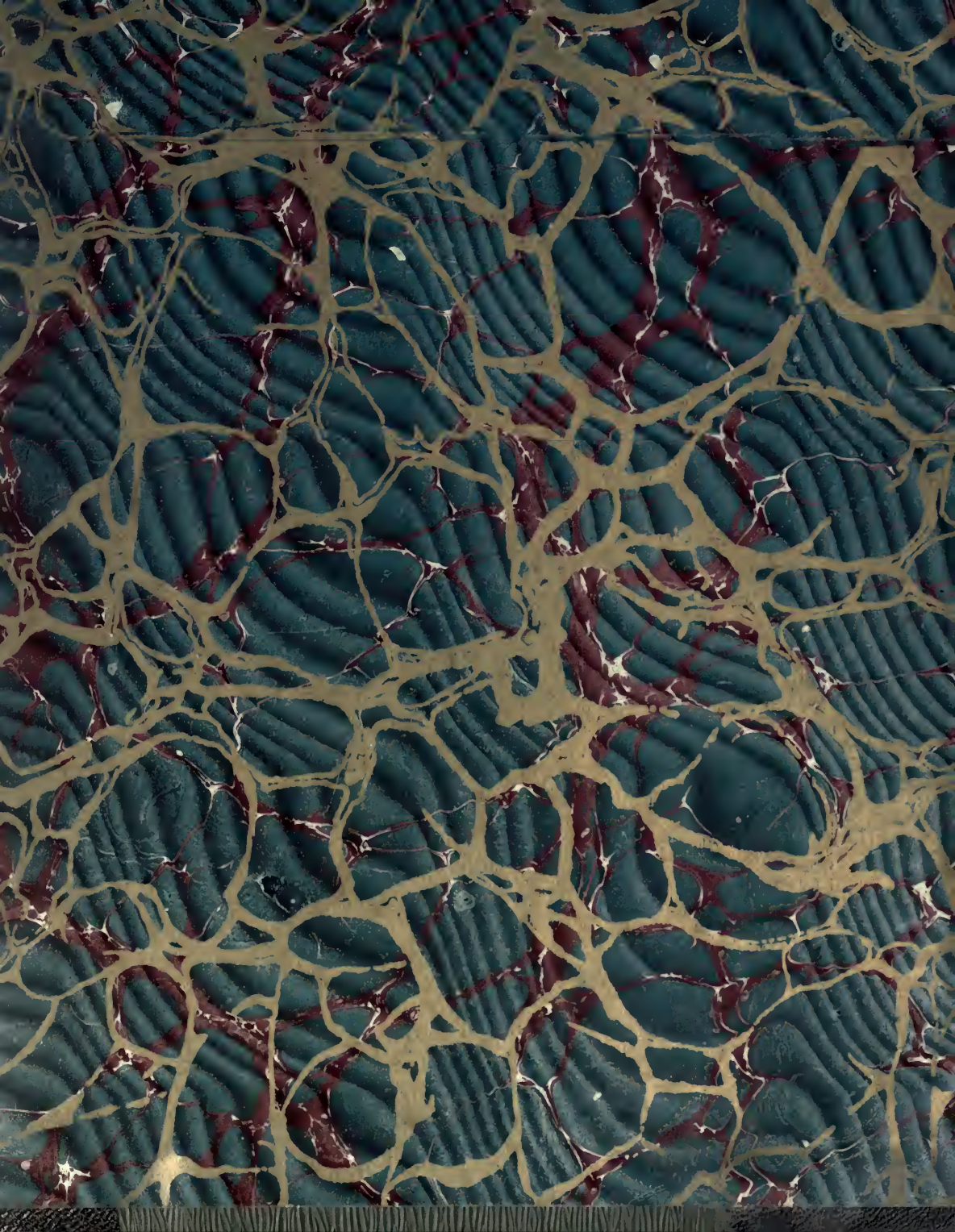
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